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# The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LVI, No. 4

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## The comte d'Antraigues and the Failure of French Conservatism in 1789\*

PAUL H. BEIK

LOUIS-Emmanuel-Henri-Alexandre de Launai, comte d'Antraigues, although virtually unknown today, was much admired in 1788 for having struck a blow against despotism. His *Mémoire sur les Etats Généraux* made him famous,<sup>1</sup> but in 1789 he unmade his popularity by standing, firmly enough, in that same Estates General while the revolution he had helped to start passed beyond him and his fellow defenders of vote by order. Complete oblivion was not his lot, however, for after emigration in February, 1790, he continued, as before, to war with his pen, and even after his output as a royalist pamphleteer had dwindled, his notoriety was maintained by activities as a secret agent of Louis XVIII.<sup>2</sup> When Napoleon's soldiers caught

\*I should like to thank the Guggenheim Foundation for making possible fourteen months of study in France, and Professor Georges Lefebvre for calling to my attention D'Antraigues' significance in the social thought of the Revolutionary period.

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoire sur les Etats Généraux, leur droits, et la manière de les convoquer* (n.p., 1788). The book was, as D'Antraigues' biographer puts it; transparently anonymous. Léonce Pingaud, *Un agent secret sous la Révolution et l'empire: le comte d'Antraigues* (Paris, 1893), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> During part of his long exile, D'Antraigues served as a kind of minister of police for Louis XVIII at Verona. He had informants in Paris and in other parts of France who wrote him

him at Trieste in 1797, he became a target for the scorn and suspicion of revolutionists and counter-revolutionists alike, the former attempting to buy or bully him while the latter suspected him of betraying their cause. From this captivity he escaped in disguise—some said because Napoleon had no more use for him, others that the Corsicans let him go in answer to the pleas of the opera singer Madame Saint-Huberty, D'Antraigues' former mistress, now introduced to the captors as his wife. After more years of exile and shadowy counter-revolutionary labor, D'Antraigues again and for the last time became a focus of public attention, in England, where he and his wife while leaving their house were stabbed to death by an Italian servant who had been discharged the day before. The mystery of this murder, which occurred in 1812, has never been cleared up. At the time some people suspected the British government, which locked up D'Antraigues' papers, possibly at the request of Louis XVIII; others held Bonaparte responsible. The Italian assassin shot himself immediately after the completion of his crime.<sup>3</sup>

Back in 1778-1779, when Lafayette and the two older Lameths, who were also young men in their twenties, were interesting themselves in the American Revolution, D'Antraigues had set out in the opposite direction for a voyage through the Ottoman Empire. After early tutoring, and *collège* at Paris, he had found military life as captain in the Royal Piedmont Cavalry distasteful. He turned to travel, study, and literature, and although his account of his eastern trip remained an unpublished manuscript full of touches characteristic of a youthful free-thinker recording his pleasures, his scorn of despotism, and his easy tolerance which equated Christianity and the Moslem faith, he had no trouble enjoying life in the years which followed. Paris offered him Madame Saint-Huberty and the companionship of fellow *philosophes*. He must have had a talent for discipleship, for he studied with Buffon, was befriended by Malesherbes, who gave him a manuscript of reflections on Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, and was even treated kindly by Rousseau, who also left him a manuscript, a supplement to the *Contrat social*. He knew Mirabeau, Talleyrand, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre; displayed interest in geology, surgery, aerostatic experiments, and other inquiries then in

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letters and sent newspapers. D'Antraigues arranged this information into bulletins for the use of the European chancelleries. It has been shown that D'Antraigues himself forged papers—for example a report of Saint-Just—in an effort to influence the great powers. Albert Mathiez, "La police royaliste sous la terreur: les correspondants parisiens de d'Antraigues et leurs lettres (1793-1794)," *Annales révolutionnaires*, X (1918), 374-75; L. de Cardenal, "Encore un faux d'Antraigues," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, XII (1935), 58-63.

<sup>3</sup> See Pingaud, *op. cit.*, for details about D'Antraigues' life. Without this biographical material, the present study of D'Antraigues' publications would lose most of its significance.



vogue. When at home on his estates in Vivarais, in Languedoc, he liked to potter among the books in his library; but here another aspect of his existence was also in evidence, for he used his titles and feudal prerogatives to the full, and even took the trouble, in 1785, to have his honorific rights confirmed by the *parlement* of Toulouse. He was a proprietor of mines, but most of his income of some 40,000 *livres* came to him each year from feudal dues. There were family debts amounting to about 300,000 *livres*. D'Antraigues was evidently a careful manager of his affairs, and not ungenerous. At any rate his will, written in 1782 at the age of twenty-nine, provided amply for charity and for his staff of domestics, including the servant girl who was his mistress at Vivarais.

It was not an uncomfortable life, then, which D'Antraigues led in the decade following his eastern trip, but he was still a provincial noble and subject to all the bitterness and discontents of that breed. In Languedoc the provincial estates were run by a powerful oligarchy of bishops and barons whose circle could not be entered by the lesser nobles. Vivarais, a subdivision of Languedoc, had its own estates, but here too the way was blocked.<sup>4</sup> Court life at Versailles, with its glamour and its rewards, was closed to the likes of D'Antraigues. As a lesser noble, unsatisfied by the traditional military career of his class, barred from local or national administration, mindful of his prerogatives and yet accustomed to an enlightened society whose ideas could easily arm his discontent with arguments, he found himself in opposition both to the absolutism of the crown and to the favored positions which it granted to the most distinguished members of his estate. This opposition appears in the unpublished pages of his *Voyages en Orient*, which he revised in 1785, adding passages full of scorn for despotism and urgent warnings that the calling of the Estates General was needed if the severe but justifiable device of insurrection was to be avoided.<sup>5</sup> It appears even more in the famous *Mémoire sur les Etats Généraux*, which he wrote in a burst of excitement in May, June, and July of 1788 while absolutism was making its last stand against the *parlements*. Fourteen editions lifted D'Antraigues from obscurity and made him a public figure.

But there is something more to this life than the story of a man who greeted the Revolution and later had to run from it. D'Antraigues is important not only for what he did but also for the doctrinal record he left behind while he was doing it. Thus if its historical setting gives his biography significance, it is also true that a study of D'Antraigues' ideas may contribute something to history, for he was by no means alone in his rebellion in 1788;

<sup>4</sup> Pingaud, pp. 51-52.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

he was part of a movement which deserves more attention than it has usually been given: the effort of the French aristocracy to make the great shift from absolutism to constitutional monarchy. It was an effort with various motives and a long history, an effort which succeeded in setting off the Revolution "from above," as Albert Mathiez puts it, but which failed when attempts to check what the aristocrats had started drove the Revolution into channels of violence.

The history of this aristocratic push can be described here only in sketchy summary. The great nobles and their younger brothers in the higher offices of the church had never forgotten their feudal past, though they had been cajoled with privileges and disciplined again and again by the bureaucratic absolutism of the dynastic state. When under Louis XIV this state had reached its highest perfection, the bureaucracy on which it depended for its power had in it already the seeds of change, for bureaucracies must have order and precedents, and these, when no strong hand was at the helm, could grow into a constitution.<sup>6</sup> In the realm of theory, Bishop Bossuet, besides proclaiming that the king was God's agent on earth, had distinguished between despotism, or rule by caprice, and absolutism, which meant rule according to law, respecting private rights.<sup>7</sup> But this official doctrine, which in the seventeenth century had had a ring of urgency and conviction about it, was to have difficulty making its way in the changed mood of the Enlightenment. It was not the *philosophes* who first exploited this weakness, but nobles like Saint-Simon and Boulainvilliers, who found in historical arguments the best means of supporting their efforts to limit the absolutism which had curbed the power of their order. Saint-Simon, for example, took as his point of departure the conquest of Gaul by the Franks, a free warrior people who governed themselves by assemblies. According to this semiracial doctrine the French nobles, descendants of the Frankish conquerors, held their property and privileges by right of conquest since the origin of the monarchy, and shared the legislative power with the king, whereas the Third Estate, descendants of the conquered Gallo-Romans, could claim no comparable rights. Since the Roman government had been completely destroyed by the conquest, moreover, there was no room for the claim that absolutism antedated the rights of the nobles.<sup>8</sup> These ideas on French history,

<sup>6</sup> Georges Pagès, *La monarchie d'ancien régime en France (de Henri IV à Louis XIV)* (Paris, 1946), pp. 182-83.

<sup>7</sup> Henri Sée, *L'évolution de la pensée politique en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1925), pp. 10, 15.

<sup>8</sup> Elie Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1927), pp. 11-18; Jacques Barzun, *The French Race: Theories of Its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications* (New York, 1932), chap. viii.

in various combinations and with various emphases and deductions, served the cause of other eighteenth century nobles who wished to limit the absolute monarchy. Boulainvilliers, for example, using the same basis in German liberties and Frankish conquest, claimed for all nobles of the sword the same share in the legislative process which Saint-Simon had said was the prerogative of the great nobles or *pairs de France*.<sup>9</sup> The *parlements*, staffed by nobles of the robe whose families were usually of bourgeois origin and had purchased their offices and titles, used a similar theory when, by tracing their "sovereign courts" back to the original assemblies of the nation, they justified their claim that they represented the sovereign people and that they could therefore refuse to register decrees.<sup>10</sup> This magistrates' doctrine reached its fullest development between 1771 and 1788, a period in which the *parlements* may be said to have acted as the spearhead of aristocratic resistance to the crown's efforts to reform the abuses of the Old Regime.<sup>11</sup>

Absolutism in the eighteenth century was not without its defenders, but they never succeeded in checking, either in doctrine or in fact, the oligarchical tendency of the nobles of sword and robe to "temper" the monarchy. Abbé Dubos in 1734 refuted the doctrine of Saint-Simon and Boulainvilliers by maintaining that Franks and Romans had been allies and that when sovereignty was ceded by Justinian to Frankish descendants of Clovis the measure was ratified by the Gallo-Roman population. He thus eliminated at one stroke both the superiority of the Franks and their alleged right to share with their king the spoils of victory.<sup>12</sup> The marquis d'Argenson, in a posthumous work published in editions of 1764 and 1784, advocated a powerful reforming absolutism which would unhesitatingly use the state's power to serve the general welfare, thus anchoring the monarchy firmly in the people.<sup>13</sup> This tendency to make absolutism the tool for reshaping the Old Regime according to the dictates of reason and the natural order was advocated by numerous *philosophes*, the most noted illustration being the "legal despotism" with which the first generation of physiocrats hoped to achieve their liberal

<sup>9</sup> Carcassonne, pp. 19-25; Barzun, chap. vii.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Bickart, *Les Parlements et la notion de souveraineté nationale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1932) is the most useful summary in book form. *Sée*, chap. v, is a less adequate statement. See also Paul H. Beik, *A Judgment of the Old Régime* (New York, 1944).

<sup>11</sup> Carcassonne, pp. 549-53; Jules Flammermont and Maurice Tourneux, *Remontrances du Parlement de Paris au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1888-98), III, 722-33, 745-46; Bickart, p. 279; Ernest Désiré Glasson, *Le Parlement de Paris: son rôle politique, depuis le règne de Charles VII jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, 1901), II, 417-18; Albert Colombet, *Les parlementaires bourgeois à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lyon, 1936), pp. 309, 329-30; A. LeMoy, *Le Parlement de Bretagne et le pouvoir royal au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Angers, 1909), pp. 563-64; Henri Carré, *La fin des parlements* (Paris, 1912), p. 20

<sup>12</sup> Carcassonne, pp. 42-45.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-50.

economic policies.<sup>14</sup> If the crown had adopted such a course of action by aggressively backing the reforms of Turgot and of those of his successors who, like Necker, Calonne, and Brienne, were forced by circumstances to follow in his footsteps, absolutism in France might conceivably have postponed the Revolution with a program similar in some respects to that which later benefited Napoleon. But this was not to be. Toward the end of the Old Regime the struggles between absolutism and its aristocratic opponents redounded increasingly to the advantage of the latter; their champions, the *parlements*, forced in the heat of battle into ever more daring assertions, accustomed the educated public to the idea of a historic constitution under which the Estates General shared the legislative power with the crown.<sup>15</sup> When in 1787 and 1788 Calonne and Brienne were forced by imminent bankruptcy to attack the privileges of the first two estates, they were faced by an almost unbroken wall of public opinion which had come to believe that despotism, even enlightened despotism, was unconstitutional.<sup>16</sup>

It was in these circumstances that D'Antraigues plunged into public life with a pamphlet almost as celebrated in its day as the later one by Sieyès, *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*<sup>17</sup> The assault on absolutism in which he took part was unquestionably inspired by a large element of self-interest on the part of the aristocracy, who indeed appeared to be counterattacking against the efforts of absolutism to save itself at their expense. This assault, moreover, was a dangerous enterprise, for the aristocrats might lose the leadership of it to men of lower station; but this risk had to be taken; the bourgeois leaders who succeeded them would face the same problem. So had the aristocracy of Britain, and would again. D'Antraigues, a small figure on the stage where the drama of modern liberalism was being enacted—a drama in which privileged groups set momentous precedents by formulating theories of rights—cannot reveal the tactics and motivations of all the actors. But he was there, and his social thought is testimony from one layer of French society.

<sup>14</sup> Sée, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Carcassonne, pp. 566–70, 672–73.

<sup>16</sup> Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution* (Princeton, 1947), p. 51: "To make trouble for a ministry from which they expected no good, many bourgeois, especially the lawyers, had taken sides with the Parlement of Paris. Others remained neutral in that contest. . . . In any case, in the summer of 1788 there was no reason to anticipate that the bourgeoisie would intervene, in the name of the whole Third Estate, in the conflict between the royal power and the aristocracy." This is the nearest thing to a refutation of Carcassonne's point that I have been able to find, but it will be noticed that it says only that many of the bourgeoisie remained neutral at this time. Moreover, the later tendency of the bourgeoisie to champion the whole Third Estate does not mean that they favored the crown in the period before they turned against the aristocracy.

<sup>17</sup> Edme Champion, "La conversion du comte d'Antraigues," *La Révolution française*, XXVI (Jan.–June, 1894), 6–7.



II

The social thought of the comte d'Antraigues in 1788 may be abstracted from his *Mémoire sur les Etats Généraux* if we look for his analysis of the current crisis, his political theory, interpretation of history, constitutional doctrine, and attitudes toward social classes. The author of this *Mémoire* is full of hope and enthusiasm, and claims to welcome the excesses of despotism which, being insupportable, have aroused the nation.<sup>18</sup> As his title suggests, he thinks that the government's financial crisis requires the calling of the Estates General.<sup>19</sup> Already Providence appears in his writing, Providence which had punished the French for their vices and taught them a lesson by bringing them the absolute monarchy.<sup>20</sup> Providence was to appear many times in the later books of D'Antraigues, but never again with such light-heartedness.

D'Antraigues scoffs at fears that the Estates General may be disorderly. That is the way nature works with her unalterable order, creating synthesis out of shock and countershock. Perhaps he even pictured himself in the midst of this grand process. "We shall see whether, when an eloquent man, who has already proved himself, rises to develop the principles of political science which have been the object of his studies; we shall see, I repeat, whether importunate clamors will interrupt him—unless they come from persons paid to create a disturbance."<sup>21</sup> He saw the possibility of demagogues, but apparently only as a threat from the right, from the king.<sup>22</sup> There is not a sign in this book that its author even dreams that seigneurial dues may be threatened. He mentions in passing that all that was most dangerous of the feudal regime exists no longer, the odious duties having passed away. Those which remain are property rights which of course must be respected.<sup>23</sup> When he writes of property rights it is with awareness of no danger except from the ministers of an absolute monarch.<sup>24</sup> When he insists that the deputies to the Estates General respect the mandates given them by their constituents, he seems to have in mind chiefly the danger that the deputies will be too easily charmed or intimidated by the king.<sup>25</sup>

But even on this score the D'Antraigues of 1788 shows no real concern,

<sup>18</sup> *Mémoire sur les Etats Généraux*, pp. 12–14, 38.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252–53.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 259, 270.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 259 n., 264.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124–26, 130, 131.

for he is confident that the work of the Enlightenment is on his side in the fight against absolutism.<sup>26</sup> The Enlightenment has furnished a means of problem-solving which appeals to him even more than the historical arguments of the Boulainvilliers school of aristocratic thinking: history offers the solution, for France has a free past; but there is no need to rely on perishable historical records, for one can always be guided by principles.<sup>27</sup> The general association has been formed for the purpose of conserving property. The sacredness of its laws stems from the fact that they work only in the general interest. But who will make these laws? Certainly not a hereditary king, educated in the midst of courtiers and always subject to their flattery.<sup>28</sup> D'Antraigues at this stage of his career shows little respect for kings. "I cannot imagine what strange principle is the basis for the view that twenty million people, wishing to establish a certain order of things, need the grace of a single individual in order to achieve that end."<sup>29</sup> The "absurd lies" associated with the theory of divine right hurt the throne rather than help it; everything of course exists by the grace of God, but the authority of kings really rests on the will of the people.<sup>30</sup>

The general will, which makes a collective body out of a crowd of individuals, is expressed by the nation's representatives.<sup>31</sup> This general will expressed by the legislative power would be unlimited, except for the fact that one of its dictates, the will to exist, necessitates that in a large nation the executive power be in the hands of one man, the king. The nation decides whether the monarchy is to be elective or hereditary, and also sets up a judicial power.<sup>32</sup> Individual liberties, including freedom of the press, should be safeguarded, in order that public opinion may check despotism.<sup>33</sup>

D'Antraigues favored principles "written by the hand of God in the hearts of men,"<sup>34</sup> but he did not disdain historical arguments, and devoted much space to references which when assembled together form a history of France in the spirit of Boulainvilliers, with whose work he was familiar.<sup>35</sup> The Franks, a free warrior and legislator people, conquered the inferior Gauls and established on their territory their elective monarchy. In the time of Charlemagne this free people still consented, in assemblies called *parle-*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7, 215-17.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 16-18.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 27, 29, 32.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22, 32.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23, 30, 39.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 269.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

*mens*, to laws prepared by their chiefs and their king. The feudal period which followed was, however, one of servitude, superstition, and anarchy, owing to the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants, who allowed the holders of military benefices to fortify their châteaux and make their fiefs hereditary.<sup>36</sup> The crowning of Hugh Capet, one of the great fief holders, by these nobles, was the natural outcome of this false policy. In time feudal anarchy tended to be overcome by the third dynasty, but the kings went too far in the other direction when, appealing for support to the descendants of the conquered Gauls, they tried to make themselves despots.<sup>37</sup> Fortunately their movement toward tyranny was checked by their own excesses, and in the fourteenth century they were forced to give the people back their primitive rights. By this D'Antraigues means that the kings had to make use of the Estates General, a body in which nobles and clergy deliberated separately, but the Third Estate was "really the nation," differences between the conquering Franks and the conquered Gauls having been forgotten.<sup>38</sup> All would have been well if the kings had not been able to break loose again and continue their march toward despotism, spurred on by power-hungry ministers who called the estates only to choose among desperate alternatives in times of great crisis.<sup>39</sup> D'Antraigues dates taxation without consent of the nation from the time of Louis XI, of whom he writes that "if this tyrant had not been unhappy it would be excusable to be an atheist."<sup>40</sup> The reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV and the work of Richelieu and Mazarin he condemns bitterly. But all this history leads straight to the same optimistic conclusion as his theory, for a combination of the excesses of despotism and the sound principles taught by free writers during the reign of Louis XV have given the nation a chance to win back its historic liberty.<sup>41</sup>

D'Antraigues' notions in 1788 about France's historic constitution dovetail neatly enough with his general principles, his history, and his optimistic analysis of the current crisis. Without the Estates General, insurrection would be the last resource of the people, but fortunately the constitution allows the Estates General to meet, even without being requested by the king, if the nation is imperiled and the social contract broken. This mixture of contract theory with the idea of a historic constitution, the two being spiced with an implied threat of insurrection in the name of the people, is typical of D'Antraigues' mood in 1788. The Estates General must be called

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 46-49, 55-60, 68, 79.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61, 72-74.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83, 85, 92-93, 95.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202-206.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 139.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 209-17.

according to the traditional forms, any necessary changes in the latter being reserved for the period after the estates are in session.<sup>42</sup> Anticipating Necker, D'Antraigues writes that the Third Estate must have as many deputies as the first two estates together. Furthermore the views of the people expressed in the *cahiers* are more than simple *doléances*; they are orders which must be followed.<sup>43</sup> All deputies must obey the mandates given them by their constituents. The Estates General must consent to taxes, and only the Estates General can change the laws.<sup>44</sup>

It is clear that in making this analysis of the constitution D'Antraigues had his full attention focused on the danger from the right, that is, on the absolutism which he was combating. He denies that intermediate commissions to serve while the estates are not in session are permissible under the constitution and insists that they could too easily become tools of despotism. He exalts the role which the *parlements* have played in defending true principles against ministerial despotism, and justifies their place in the constitution by pointing to the sanction given them in the fourteenth century by the people, via the Estates General. Venality of offices is useful, for the same reason, as long as the alternative is choice of judges by the king and his ministers.<sup>45</sup> That D'Antraigues did not at this time fear the Left is further indicated by his failure to stress vote by order, which he apparently took for granted: in the same passage in which he contents himself with mentioning that in the fourteenth century the orders deliberated separately, he writes of the Third Estate as being "really the nation."<sup>46</sup> Tax privileges must go, but property and the nation's credit will of course be sacred.<sup>47</sup>

D'Antraigues' lack of fear of the Third Estate and his disposition to regard them as allies in the struggle against absolutism are even more apparent in his views on social classes. His hostility to the great nobles, "who seem to form around the king a new nation, enemy of the people," and his stated conviction that the "real nobility," those of the provinces, must ally themselves with the people are scarcely surprising in a man of his position. These attitudes are reflected in his dislike of the feudal period in France's history, in his scorn for the lingering veneration of great family names, and in his idealization of chivalry, a "bouquet of flowers" in the midst of feudal anarchy because it represented the true patriotism of the ordinary noble.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-90, 229-30, 245.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106, 245-47.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 124-26, 234, 257, 263.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 101, 173-74, 180, 200-201, 263.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207, 262-65, 268-69.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62, 85-89.

D'Antraigues was to live to regret many readily fashioned phrases of this period, but none more than the outburst with which he deplored the medieval transformation of military benefices into hereditary political domains. "From this disastrous change was to develop the hereditary nobility, the most frightful plague with which heaven in its anger could strike a free nation."<sup>49</sup> In keeping with this dangerous appeal to the sensibilities of the Third Estate is his condemnation of "vain and odious privileges" such as tax exemptions. All privileges contrary to the general interest must be given up.<sup>50</sup> This kind of talk surely indicates no awareness on his part that seigniorial rights or vote by order in the Estates General might soon be called into question by his friends in the Third Estate, which he calls "this most respectable of all bodies, this body in which all the power really resides, this body which upholds the state, which is really the nation, while the others are merely dependencies of it."<sup>51</sup> The dislike of absolutism which apparently blinded him to fear of the populace is further illustrated in his recommendation of a citizen army, which he insists would never harm liberty or the *patrie* or fight their own brothers. D'Antraigues' only expressed concern at this time with respect to the people is that they be informed of the real issues so that there will be no time wasted in disputes over the powers of the assembly.<sup>52</sup> Surely a prophetic remark!

### III

The year 1789 put D'Antraigues' social philosophy to the test by forcing him to apply it to a reality in which he suddenly became aware of dangers on every side, but in its early months he was still full of enthusiasm and confidence, if we may judge by his *Second mémoire sur les Etats-Généraux*.<sup>53</sup> In this pamphlet his analysis of the current crisis has not changed: the danger is still that of ministerial despotism, and he takes pains to warn the deputies to the Estates General to hold off financial aid to the government until individual liberty, liberty of property and press, periodic return of the Estates General, and responsibility of ministers are assured.<sup>54</sup>

D'Antraigues' biographer, Léonce Pingaud, thinks that his subject was at this time maintaining a purposeful silence on vote by head and on aboli-

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93, 95.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17, 256, 262.

<sup>53</sup> (n.p., 1789). The title on the first page of the text shows what this pamphlet really is: *Mémoire sur la constitution des états de la province de Languedoc*. Indeed, this title was used on the first edition, which appeared in January, 1789.

<sup>54</sup> *Second mémoire sur les Etats-Généraux*, pp. 54-55, 76 n., 78-79, 82-83.

tion of certain feudal rights, in the hope that concession of equality before taxes would forestall attacks on the political privileges of the nobles.<sup>55</sup> This may well be true, for, although as already noted the author of the 1788 *Mémoire* could scarcely have written as he did if he had been aware of the impending dangers to his class, it must be concluded that the man who at the opening of the Estates General took such a firm and unpopular stand against vote by head must at some time have become alert to danger. In the early months of 1789 the *cahiers* and a great many pamphlets were being written and criticisms of privilege were multiplying. D'Antraigues' refusal to be a deputy for the Third Estate of Paris—he said later that he had asked the king's advice—or for the Third Estate of his own province<sup>56</sup> perhaps forecasts his later stand. At any rate he accepted a mandate from the nobles of his province and played a dominant role in the writing of the Bas-Vivarais *cahier*, which toned down, but repeated, the program which he had been advocating. This *cahier* demanded the refashioning of the estates of Languedoc and Vivarais, freedom of press, responsibility of ministers, abolition of *lettres de cachet*, suppression of judicial privileges—and even of provincial privileges if agreement on this point proved universal—imperative mandates, adhesion of the nobility to the principle of equality before taxes, and consent of the Estates General to government borrowing, taxes and laws in general.<sup>57</sup> When at Versailles the question of verification of powers arose, D'Antraigues took his place among the leaders of resistance to verification in common.<sup>58</sup>

Although, as an examination of his public statements will presently indicate, D'Antraigues continued through 1789 to use the language of a disciple of Rousseau, he saw his popularity vanish as he fought to defend the political privileges of his order. After September, 1789, he no longer spoke in the National Assembly but continued to write brochures and to submit memorials to committees. Following the episode of October 5–6, he asked for his passport but failed to make use of it at once, although he was named in the Favras affair (December, 1789). Pingaud is certain that during this period he had clandestine relations with the court. In February, 1790, he left for Switzerland. His life was henceforth to be, in the words of his biographer, one of forced political labor. In Vivarais, which he never saw again, he was considered a traitor. Although two thirds of the income from his lands consisted of *cens* payments which were redeemable according to decrees of the

<sup>55</sup> Pingaud, p. 63.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> *Archives parlementaires*, VI, 177–82, cited by Pingaud, pp. 61–63; L.E.H.A. de Launai, comte d'Antraigues, *Discours prononcé par le comte d'Antraigues, député aux Etats-Généraux, dans la Chambre de la Noblesse, le 11 mai 1789* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 15–18 and note.

<sup>58</sup> Pingaud, p. 66.

National Assembly, his agents could collect nothing. In the *jacquerie* of 1792 men with tools and weapons and women with sacks invaded his several country homes and appropriated or destroyed his belongings. His favorite château, the Bastide, was attacked by five hundred people, who pillaged it all day and left it to burn all night.<sup>59</sup>

But this is ahead of our chronology, although the ultimate fate of D'Antraigues' property is certainly not entirely unconnected with his behavior in 1789. Again, the behavior of D'Antraigues' contemporaries is what gives his case significance, for he was no more an isolated voice in 1789 than he had been in 1788. He was merely one of the most articulate of the privileged nobles who, from seeking to limit the monarchy in 1788, turned sharply in 1789 to confront a greater menace than ministerial despotism, a menace which was best understood by themselves but which cannot fail to arouse the curiosity of the historian who would like to understand how the crown and aristocracy drew together after the convening of the Estates General and turned what might have been a victory for moderate liberalism into a contest soon marred by unforgettable violence.<sup>60</sup> The momentous months from August, 1788, to July, 1789, surely contained one of history's most complex social movements. In all ranks of society, mounting discontent with the economic conditions which have recently been described in masterful fashion by Labrousse<sup>61</sup> had for some time made unusually dangerous the paralysis of the government's power by the resistance of the privileged to reform. To this was added the factor of great expectations once the crown yielded to the pressure from all three estates and summoned the Estates General, permitting both the drawing up of *cahiers* and the choosing of deputies by a remarkably democratic suffrage. In the long wait, first for the Estates General to meet and then for them to agree on verification of powers so that they could accomplish something, the more or less united opposition to the crown's absolutism broke up. For trying to perpetuate what they stated to be the historic practice of voting by order in the Estates General, the *parlement* of

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79, 81-84.

<sup>60</sup> That there was much chance in 1788 of a victory for moderate liberalism can of course be questioned. Professor Lefebvre writes: "There can in fact be no doubt that the aristocracy had entered the struggle against absolutism in the name of the nation, but with the firm intention of governing the nation and especially of not being absorbed into it." Lefebvre, p. 36. And after describing the contents of the *cahiers*, M. Lefebvre remarks: "The overwhelming majority of the Third Estate and of the clergy could have been rallied to the king by promise of a regime resembling what the Charter of 1814 was to give . . ." (p. 74). To these judgments of what the aristocracy was doing and what the king might have done may be added the observation that in any case the statesmanship, or lack of it, of men like D'Antraigues can only be assessed if it is known whether they advanced, retreated, or stood pat in the period from 1788 to 1789.

<sup>61</sup> Camille E. Labrousse, *La crise de l'économie française à la fin de l'ancien régime et au début de la Révolution* (Paris, 1944), pp. 625-28. "C'est ainsi dans toutes les classes, un feu roulant d'accusations contre le régime. . . ."



Paris fell from public favor, as did the notables, who in their second assembly, that of November–December, 1788, also refused to change the traditional manner of voting.<sup>62</sup> The intransigence of the privileged was made all the more notorious by the widely read *Lettres des princes* in which the princes of the blood, except for the comte de Provence, warned Louis XVI concerning the importance of traditional forms in the Estates General and threatened that otherwise the first two orders might not co-operate.<sup>63</sup> In the face of such views the apparent willingness of the privileged to renounce their tax exemptions failed to impress the Third Estate, of which the most articulate members were in full cry against the nobles and clergy who so recently had been their allies in the war against absolutism.

Edme Champion, shortly after the appearance in 1893 of Pingaud's biography of D'Antraigues, wrote a series of three articles pointing out the significance of the adamant position taken by the nobles at the opening of the Estates General. From a study of the *cahiers* of the nobility, three fourths of which were available to him, Champion concluded that at the time the *cahiers* were written, early in 1789, there was not a large or firm majority against vote by head in the Estates General, at least for certain matters. Champion's statistics have been superseded, notably by those of Beatrice Hyslop,<sup>64</sup> but the problem to which they—and D'Antraigues—called his attention is relevant to our inquiry. In Champion's view, the nobles were excessively and mysteriously stubborn at the opening of the Estates General, voting on May 16 against verification in common by a majority of four fifths, even though they knew that verification in common did not mean vote by head, while refusal to verify in common was certain to antagonize the Third Estate because it definitely excluded the possibility of vote by head. According to Champion the nobles compromised the Estates General, made that body impotent, and furnished the pretext for dissolving it.<sup>65</sup> They did so in spite of the fact that the *cahiers* of the Third Estate had proved to be moderate in tone, did not attack the distinction of the three orders in French society,

<sup>62</sup> Aimé Chérest, *La chute de l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1884–87), II, 195–98; Flammermont and Tourneux, III, 779.

<sup>63</sup> J. Madival and E. Laurent, *Archives parlementaires* (Paris, 1862–96), I, 487.

<sup>64</sup> Champion, in *La Révolution française*, XXVI, 134–35. Albert Mathiez, however, asserts concerning the *cahiers* of the privileged: "Surtout ils défendent âprement le vote par ordre qu'ils considèrent comme la garantie de leurs dîmes et de leurs droits féodaux." *La Révolution française* (Paris, 1948), I, 47. The most extensive and careful studies of the *cahiers* have been made by Beatrice Hyslop, who reports only 14 noble *cahiers* in favor of vote by head, and 21 missing or evading the issue, as against 135 in favor of vote by order. Miss Hyslop read more *cahiers* than M. Champion, but even if this were not the case there would still be a sharp difference of interpretation. Beatrice Fry Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789 according to the General Cahiers* (New York, 1934), p. 68.

<sup>65</sup> Champion, in *La Révolution française*, XXVI, 196–97, 199–200.



and were far from unanimous in demanding vote by head in an imperious manner or on all subjects.<sup>66</sup> Champion thinks that the crisis came from the will of the government, which thereby abandoned its historic alliance with the nation. "From the moment the king breaks with the Third and joins the aristocracy, he loses his *raison d'être*."<sup>67</sup> But while Champion considers this change the immediate cause of the Revolution, he admits that he does not understand why the nobles, D'Antraigues among them, abandoned their own position as the adversaries of absolutism.<sup>68</sup> One could compare this analysis with more recent conclusions, for example that of Lefebvre. "The Court forgot its grievances against the aristocracy, while the latter reciprocated by not pressing its demands. Court and aristocracy came together in common defense of the traditional social order."<sup>69</sup> But perhaps enough has been said to furnish a setting for D'Antraigues' behavior in 1789.

#### IV

Examination of the speeches and pamphlets of the comte d'Antraigues in 1789 reveals that their author's analysis of the current crisis was changing in a direction which placed a strain on his political and constitutional theories and on his previously stated position with respect to social classes. Let us look first for awareness of a new significance in the revolution he had helped to start. His speech of May 11, in the Chamber of the Nobility, shows him already on the defensive, insisting that his mandate does not allow him to abandon separate deliberations of the estates, vote by order, and the sanction of the king to the law. This, he admits, is his own opinion as well as that of his constituents.<sup>70</sup> On May 23 he takes the offensive to the extent of insisting that the people want only equality before taxes, which the nobles are willing to grant, and that anyone who tries to go beyond this solution will have to take the responsibility for the paralysis of the Estates General. The fight is still against despotism, and now that tax privileges have been abandoned there is no reason why the three orders cannot stand together.

D'Antraigues' claim that the nobles' defense of the constitution is disinterested does not prevent him from warning these very nobles that the con-

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-48, 202-206.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 213-14.

<sup>69</sup> Lefebvre, p. 75.

<sup>70</sup> *Discours prononcé par le comte d'Antraigues . . . dans la Chambre de la Noblesse, le 11 mai 1789*, pp. 6, 15-18. The problem of the authenticity of these published materials must be faced. From a study of all the printed speeches and reports by D'Antraigues in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale I am convinced that the ones used here are authentic, published by D'Antraigues in an effort to influence public opinion and justify his actions. I know of no reason to doubt their authenticity but cannot prove it in many cases.

stitution is necessary to protect them against additional demands by the Third Estate.<sup>71</sup> If you abandon the "law of your fathers," he tells them on May 28, there will be no check on what a single assembly can do. You may think the royal veto can still defend property, but after the veto of the nobles has been removed, the next step will be to remove the veto of the king. "If you thereby allow a single national chamber deliberating by head, what good will be those promises which are said to assure your property rights?"<sup>72</sup> The same concern appears in his speech of June 25 when he notes with satisfaction that although the king has made some concessions, seigniorial rights and the rights of the clergy are not to be deliberated in common by the three estates. His contention on this occasion that the king cannot release deputies from their imperative mandates is indeed a defense of the historic constitution against the crown, but here the danger is no longer despotism but rather the claims of the Third Estate.<sup>73</sup>

This new element of alarm lest the constitution and property rights be violated by the Third Estate is present in D'Antraigues' other pronouncements of 1789. The confidence of the previous year is replaced by a note of false confidence, as in the remarkable speech before the National Assembly on the third of August on the subject of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Speaking in his best philosophic manner, still the child of the eighteenth century, D'Antraigues defends the declaration because its principles are sound, his constituents want it, and it is needed lest despotism return.<sup>74</sup> Yet it is impossible to read this speech without an awareness of the peasant insurrections which were sweeping France, and of the approaching night of August 4-5, from which D'Antraigues was to absent himself.<sup>75</sup> Certainly with this background in mind one cannot fail to notice the urgency with which he speaks of religion, "the basis of empires," and of property, which holds them together. To D'Antraigues the declaration is now more than a defense against absolutism. There is unmistakable emphasis, not unaccom-

<sup>71</sup> *Discours prononcé par le comte d'Antraigues, le 23 mai 1789* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 7-14 of a collection of items bound together under the title *Motions de messieurs les commissaires, conciliateurs de l'Ordre de la Noblesse . . . le vendredi 22 mai 1789* (n.p., 1789).

<sup>72</sup> *Discours prononcé dans la Chambre de la Noblesse, par le comte d'Antraigues, le jeudi 28 mai 1789* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 8, 9, 16.

<sup>73</sup> *Discours prononcé par M. le comte d'Antraigues dans la Chambre de la Noblesse, le jeudi 25 juin 1789* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 9, 10.

<sup>74</sup> *Discours prononcé dans l'Assemblée Nationale par le C<sup>te</sup> d'Antraigues le lundi 3 août 1789, au sujet de la déclaration des droits de l'homme & du citoyen* (Paris, 1789), pp. 13-14. This publication illustrates a problem posed by all such materials. It is longer than the brief report in the *Moniteur*, although not so long (15 pages) that it could not have been delivered. It is possible that D'Antraigues corrected and enlarged it for publication, incorporating what he wished he had said. If so, the usefulness of the document to the present inquiry would not be greatly altered.

<sup>75</sup> Pingaud, pp. 74-75.

panied by worry, on its service in showing the people that their rights and their religion have the same origin in Heaven. There is, by the way, a new note of seriousness with respect to religion, which he lauds as an imperishable and necessary consolation to the people, who, he warns, will never allow it to be destroyed.<sup>76</sup> As for property, he warns that society would become a state of war if it were not assured.<sup>77</sup>

Late in August, when the initial damage to seigneurial privileges has been done, we find D'Antraigues strongly defending redemption of the dues, urging that a fair price be paid, and demanding protection for proprietors against the activities of demagogues in provincial assemblies.<sup>78</sup> Another of D'Antraigues' statements, undated but probably written in 1789, discusses openly his famous change of heart, explaining that in 1788 he saw only the danger of despotism on the part of the king's ministers and not the danger to property rights which would come from the tyranny of a single legislative chamber, masquerading behind the law and pretending to do the will of the people. He now admits both that the misleading of the people presents a problem and that one learns in a great assembly lessons which pure theory overlooks.<sup>79</sup>

The D'Antraigues of 1789 has by no means abandoned political theory, however. Indeed, the same writings which express the new note of fear of the Left mentioned above contain a repetition and expansion of his political theory which, while maintaining the sovereignty of the people, is obviously concerned with erecting a dam against the popular flood. Thus the speech of May 28 argues for a monarchy in which the crown and the representative assembly balance each other.<sup>80</sup> The speech of August 3, on the Declaration of the Rights of Man, reaffirms his confidence in the Enlightenment and in Rousseau, and notes also that the people themselves will be constantly reminded not only that God is the source of religion and of property but also that property has an earthly origin in labor and a sanction in long possession.<sup>81</sup> D'Antraigues' ideas on the subject of property are further developed in his *Mémoire sur le rachat des droits féodaux*, where the social contract as a means of protecting property and also the prescriptive justification of prop-

<sup>76</sup> *Discours* . . . le lundi 3 août 1789, pp. 8-10.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *Mémoire sur le rachat des droits féodaux, déclarés rachetables par l'arrêté de l'assemblée nationale du 4 août 1789* (Versailles, 1789), pp. 21-24. This memorial is dated August 25 on the last page of D'Antraigues' text.

<sup>79</sup> *A l'ordre de la noblesse du Bas-Vivarais, par le comte d'Antraigues, son député aux Etats-Généraux* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 30, 35-36, 52. In this pamphlet the author writes that the nobles are giving up all their important privileges, as if the night of August 4-5, 1789, had not yet occurred, or had only recently occurred.

<sup>80</sup> *Discours* . . . le jeudi 28 mai 1789, pp. 10-13.

<sup>81</sup> *Discours* . . . le lundi 3 août 1789, pp. 2-6, 11 ff.

erty are advanced as proofs of the contention that even the nation cannot take property without paying for it. He applies these principles to seigneurial dues, arguing not only that time has sanctioned the arrangements between those who possessed the land and those who received it on condition of making certain payments but also that with every exchange of land the amount of the payments has figured in the price. Moreover, he justifies such payments as the *cens* as having benefited both proprietors and peasants: the former have been able to find a labor supply for the efficient exploitation of large tracts of land, and the peasants have been enabled to become proprietors in their own right. He wants it clearly understood that he holds no brief for serfdom, but even so the duties whose origin lies in the redemption of serfdom have changed hands many times and are a property right by prescription.<sup>82</sup>

D'Antraigues' speech of September 2, 1789, goes so far as to claim that as a private citizen he prefers a confederation of republics, each of them a pure democracy; but he hastens to add that of course his personal opinions do not count, now that the people have made it clear that they want monarchy.<sup>83</sup> He still maintains that the sovereign people distribute the powers which maintain society and that these powers must remain separated in order to forestall tyranny. Thus the royal sanction has its source in the people; and indeed it is to the people that D'Antraigues turns for his justification of that veto, which, he admits, amounts to a sharing of the legislative power by the king. This arrangement insures a healthy delay which will enable the public to discuss an issue and make its wishes known. In the absence of a royal veto the legislature could make itself permanent and the people's only recourse would be insurrection.<sup>84</sup>

If one examines D'Antraigues' pronouncements of 1789 which relate most directly to social classes, one finds the same subtle shift of emphasis, which, although not openly renouncing his habit of appealing to the people, tends to build up the importance of intermediary powers such as those advocated by Montesquieu.<sup>85</sup> The need for such precautions is explained by the nature of the people themselves, D'Antraigues' former allies, toward whom he betrays an increasing nervousness. Indeed, he now treats the people in much the same way that the *parlements* formerly treated the king: with a fiction of goodness which leaves the way open for checks on their power.

<sup>82</sup> *Mémoire sur le rachat des droits féodaux*, pp. 6-12, 25.

<sup>83</sup> *Discours sur la sanction royale, prononcé dans l'assemblée nationale, par le comte d'Antraigues, le mercredi 2 septembre 1789* (Versailles, n.d.), pp. 14 n., 16-18.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-10, 11-13.

<sup>85</sup> *A l'ordre de la noblesse du Bas-Vivarais*, pp. 40, 46-47, 50-53. As already noted, this pamphlet is undated, but was probably written in 1789.

The people are sovereign, but for the very reason that their power is so great it is especially important that they be enlightened; and "they can be enlightened only by the resistance which they encounter before their will is converted into law. . . ." <sup>86</sup> The people's will is still supreme. "But by what sign can one recognize the will of the people? That is where we differ with the opinion of the representatives of that portion of the people which constitutes the Third Estate. The people do not really will what they are made to will when they are misled; the people never will anything unjust; and when they demand an injustice, to resist them is to obey them." <sup>87</sup> This astonishing statement—it reminds us of Robespierre, whose personal acquaintance with Rousseau was more fleeting than that of D'Antraigues—follows by several pages one of D'Antraigues' revealing apologies for his conduct in 1788. In his first *Mémoire* he had, as we know, not discussed vote by order or by head. Later, he reports, he set to work on a project for reconciling the views of those provinces which wanted vote by order with those of the supporters of vote by head. "The violence of the Third Estate, its pretensions, prejudicial to property, tending to excite fear and hatred, made my memorial useless; it might have been dangerous; I had to give up publishing it." <sup>88</sup> Here for a moment the veil is lifted and the alarm which led to D'Antraigues' famous conversion is, I think, clearly revealed.

V

What is most significant about the drift of D'Antraigues' doctrine is not so much the fact that it occurred as that it began where it did, and, all things considered, moved so slowly. This man's value as a historical illustration of course depends on how representative of his order he can be shown to be. If, as seems probable, there were many nobles with similar tendencies, we may draw some conclusions both from the character of his rebellion in 1788 and from the manner in which he sought to recover his balance in 1789. There is also, of course, something to be learned from a study of the evolution of his doctrines in the later years of the Revolution; but for the moment we may content ourselves with examining the significance of his first shift, and to this end it is perhaps useful to pose again the problem presented by the refusal of the French aristocracy in 1789 to compromise with the minority of liberal nobles and with the moderate elements of the Third Estate.

This refusal, followed as it was by the rapprochement of crown and

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 28.

privileged and the subsequent threat of force against the National Assembly, opened the way to violence and to the increasing dependence of the assembly upon the perilous aid of a populace awakening to a sense of its own power but scarcely ready to manage the nation's affairs by democratic methods. France's effort to make the transition from absolutism to a moderate liberalism thus collapsed into a kind of civil war whose bitterness was accentuated by each new exchange of blows and whose duration was prolonged by the inability of successive groups of politicians to cope with the growing counter-revolution on their right and with the ambitious leaders of a prematurely aroused populace on their left. This tragedy might have been avoided if the French nobility, already strong in their will to limit the monarchy, had been able to bring their efforts to fruition by associating in the enterprise the powerful and enlightened upper middle class, making the transition with a minimum of delay and with a certain number of concessions to the peasants, while the king remained powerless to resist and the urban populace went about their business of daily living and waited upon a future which need not have denied them a political role.

The failure to achieve this transition was to a large extent a failure of leadership on the part of the nobility. If the public utterances of D'Antraigues may be used as a rough indication of his part in the event, it seems reasonably certain that his failure consisted in a blindness to the consequences of his rebellion in 1788, followed by an unstatesmanlike paralysis in the face of danger in 1789. Without trying to read between the lines one can observe that the elements of defense of seigneurial property rights and caution about the application of popular sovereignty so evident in his writings and speeches of 1789 are almost totally absent from the famous *Mémoire* of the year before. Whatever the motives for D'Antraigues' part in the effort of the aristocracy to limit absolutism in 1788, he was not then prepared to face the consequences of that act. We may conclude that despite all his intellectual pursuits he did not in 1788 appreciate either the gravity of the peasant problem, which as we now know was accompanied by a serious economic crisis, or the extent to which the urge for equality on the part of the Third Estate would complicate the meeting of the Estates General. When by May, 1789, those aspects of the situation were becoming apparent to him, he was able without too great inconsistency to continue using his doctrines, but in his use of them both his refusal to compromise and the fears which must have prompted it are clearly evident.

On the eve of the Revolution D'Antraigues, a provincial noble, was probably more ambitious and discontented, certainly more intellectual and in-

clined to extremism, than most of his order. Admittedly, in the period under discussion, the more liberal churchmen and nobles of robe and sword were ready to go beyond the stand taken by D'Antraigues, while the rest were somewhat more conservative and certainly less clear in their appreciation of the crisis. After these qualifications have been accepted, it is still possible to suggest that D'Antraigues' failure throws light on the failure of his order. The capital point is that the French aristocracy, in the *parlements*, to some extent in the two Assemblies of Notables, in the General Assembly of the Clergy, in the *cahiers*, and in most of the pamphlet literature which defended their cause, used a doctrine similar to that of D'Antraigues.<sup>89</sup> He was, moreover, elected to the Estates General by the nobles of his province, *after* the appearance of his famous *Mémoire*. At Versailles when the estates met he took his stand with the rest of his order and, far from being repudiated by them, was one of their spokesmen. D'Antraigues was no Mirabeau, no Lafayette.

But the historical situation in which he and his colleagues played a part was extremely complex. Behind the government's financial difficulties lay a serious economic and social crisis. Unsolved problems like the yearning of many of the Third Estate for equality, the land hunger of the peasants, and the need for a more uniform, rational, and predictable set of national policies had been piling up. Driven by these circumstances, the servants of absolutism were trying to save it by the only possible means: reform of the abuses of the Old Regime. Parallel to these efforts and in large measure stimulated by them, the aristocracy had brought to maturity its doctrine of constitutionalism, which would have limited the monarchy while preserving their privileged social position. It was their failure and misfortune that they, like D'Antraigues, did not realize the full seriousness of the economic and social crisis, and that when they became aware of its dangers they aggravated it by their inflexibility. Their conservative opposition to absolutism became the first doctrinal resource of the counter-revolution.

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<sup>89</sup> Flammermont and Tourneux, III, 722, 727-33, 745-46; Bickart, pp. 1-2, 13 ff., 42-68, 86-115, 255-60; Carcassonne, pp. 548, 557, 573, 576-77, 602; Lefebvre, pp. 34-37; Hyslop, pp. 64-71; Madival and Laurent, I, 374-76.



# Samuel J. Tilden: The Story of a Lost Opportunity

MARK D. HIRSCH

SINCE his death in 1886, Samuel J. Tilden has been increasingly considered the wise and venerable elder statesman of the Democratic party of his day, an architect of its political philosophy and a sturdy champion of reform. Yet, in 1902, Don M. Dickinson, describing to President Theodore Roosevelt the fervor of the "young men who enlisted under the reform banner and their tendency to idealize Tilden," added that "they learned later that Tilden was but a marvelously skilled politician, while [Abram S.] Hewitt was the true embodiment of the spirit of reform."<sup>1</sup> Dickinson confessed that he was one of those young men, and his criticism, based on matured insight and experience, suggests the advisability of exploring further into the career of the Sage of Gramercy Park.

Tilden's early political activities seemed to foreshadow the course of his later life:<sup>2</sup> identification with good causes, and yet a baffling indecision at times of crisis; a thirst for political power, but the inability to rise entirely above partisan cunning and personal opportunism. As it was, the "wizened, nervous, very intelligent youth" apparently held more firmly to laudable principles before the Civil War than he was to do afterwards as a leader of his party. His attitude toward the Tweed Ring and his behavior in the short-lived Apollo Hall Democracy are two cases in point.

Early in his career, Tilden was affiliated with the "Barnburner" or anti-slavery faction of the Democratic party in New York state (*ca.* 1845-52). This free-soil group, led by Martin Van Buren and Silas Wright, was devoted

<sup>1</sup> Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt, with Some Account of Peter Cooper* (New York, 1935), pp. 316, 317.

<sup>2</sup> For accounts of Tilden's life, see Alexander C. Flick, *Samuel Jones Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity* (New York, 1939); *id.*, "Samuel Jones Tilden," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 537-41; John Bigelow, ed., *Letters and Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1908); *id.*, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1895); *id.*, *Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1885); Theodore P. Cook, *Life and Public Services of Hon. Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1876, campaign biography). For incidental references to phases of Tilden's career, see Nevins, *op. cit.*, and also his *Grover Cleveland: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1932); Mark D. Hirsch, *William C. Whitney, Modern Warwick* (New York, 1948); Hamilton J. Eckenrode, *Rutherford B. Hayes, Statesman of Reunion* (New York, 1930). The Tilden Papers are in the New York Public Library.



to the Jacksonian tradition, whereas the William L. Marcy or Hunker wing of the state Democracy, which was willing to co-operate with slaveholders so as not to jeopardize the party, had become President Polk's cohorts in New York. Thus, young Tilden, who was later to boast that he had had as his legal clients at one time or another more than half of the great railway companies north of the Ohio and between the Hudson and Missouri rivers, could very understandably declare at this time: "The capitalist class has banded together all over the world and organized the *modern dynasty of associated wealth*, which maintains an unquestioned ascendancy over most of the civilized portions of our race!"<sup>3</sup> This Jacksonian "radical" also denounced the recharter of the United States Bank,<sup>4</sup> warned that "We do not assail property, we merely deny it political power," and on top of that supported Thomas W. Dorr in his ill-fated "rebellion" in Rhode Island.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, as a conspicuous Barnburner, "Tilden believed that Congress should not interfere with slavery where it existed but should absolutely prohibit it in the territories where it did not exist."<sup>6</sup> He opposed the annexation of Texas, strongly favored the Wilmot Proviso, and collaborated with Martin and John Van Buren on the famous Barnburner manifesto of 1848 presenting and defending their principles and policies.<sup>7</sup> Although young Tilden's efforts helped launch the free-soil movement, and he was sent as a delegate to the National Convention of Free-Soilers at Buffalo in August, 1848, where he fought vigorously to secure "free soil for a free people," his biographer significantly concludes: "These statements expressed Tilden's extreme views at the age of thirty-four. Later, as slavery threatened war and as the support of his party came more and more from the South, Tilden sought to explain these views away as juvenile utterances."<sup>8</sup>

The fine, white flame sputtered a little. Tilden refused to follow most of the thwarted free-soilers into the new Republican party, and "growing conservative with age and prosperity, dutifully supported Buchanan." Nevins believes that the younger leaders like Tilden saw in the free-soil movement altogether "a step toward the political control of New York."<sup>9</sup> With the widening sectional split within the Democratic party and the coming of the Civil War, Tilden effaced himself from any role of leadership. He believed

<sup>3</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1946), p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, I, 85-93.

<sup>5</sup> Schlesinger, pp. 339, 411-12.

<sup>6</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82; Ray B. Smith, ed., *History of the State of New York* (Syracuse, 1922), II, 362; Schlesinger, pp. 462, 463; Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (New York, 1947), I, 192-94; Henry Minor, *The Story of the Democratic Party* (New York, 1928), pp. 224-25.

<sup>8</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, p. 85.

<sup>9</sup> Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, I, 208.

the war unnecessary and opposed it from the start. He was, however, loyal to the Union, albeit quiescent,<sup>10</sup> and conferred frequently with Secretary of War Stanton.<sup>11</sup> In addition, he waged a hard battle at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1864 against the "Peace Democrats," and was able, as chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, to thwart the extreme Vallandigham resolution that the whole war was unconstitutional and to replace it with a mild denunciation of the war as conducted.<sup>12</sup> Except for these flashes, his timorousness in the face of the flaming issues and the abandonment of his earlier enthusiasms undoubtedly caused one historian to include him among the "political weak sisters, adept at following the lines of least resistance."<sup>13</sup> The Jacksonians were indeed dying fast.

What, then, happened suddenly to metamorphose the passive corporation attorney into a leading political figure, soon to be his party's standard-bearer in the election of 1876? If, as was likely, it was ambition that prompted his bestirring himself, then it was the smashing of the Tweed Ring dominating Tammany Hall that provided his golden opportunity. Moreover, his spare frame, ascetic appearance, and secretive nature, and the host of younger men who idolized him as a reforming crusader unique in an era of Grantism and municipal corruption, only enhanced his growing reputation.

Tilden, however, was at first friendly with Tweed and politically associated with him. He did not in the beginning fight for civic welfare by taking the initiative against the Ring. It was only after New York had turned on Tweed, and the "Boss" was beginning to totter that Tilden could be discerned in the fore. The *New York Times* and he were soon to dispute hotly for the credit of that overthrow.

In 1866, Tilden replaced Dean Richmond as chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, retaining it for eight years following. By 1866, however, Tweed—while not yet publicly exposed—was already known as a traducer of the municipality. His "system of government" had commenced

<sup>10</sup> Flick, "Samuel Jones Tilden," *D.A.B.*, XVIII, 539; Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 486–88.

<sup>11</sup> Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, I, 168–69.

<sup>12</sup> See Bigelow, *Mr. Tilden's War Record* (New York, 1876? pamphlet), and remarks of others in same source; Charles B. Murphy, "Samuel J. Tilden and the Civil War," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXIII (July, 1934), 261–71; Flick, *Tilden*, pp. 148, 149. Typical of the partisan attacks on Tilden's war record twisting it unfairly in the opposite direction, stressing particularly his connection with this "Peace Resolution," and designed for campaign ammunition against him in the presidential election of 1876, were William P. Rogers, *Samuel J. Tilden . . . the Adviser, Aider and Abettor of the Great Secession Movement of 1860 . . .* (Boston, 1876, pamphlet), esp. pp. 15–17; Benjamin E. Buckman, *Samuel J. Tilden Unmasked!* (New York, 1876), esp. pp. 46, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Schlesinger, p. 502.

about 1857.<sup>14</sup> Ten years later he was a millionaire, residing on fashionable Murray Hill, and ready to enter upon his evil heyday. Aiding the "Boss" in this, and attesting his great power, were alliances with the better element of local Democrats, among whom Tilden was conspicuous. Thus, Tilden conferred with Tweed, Sweeny, and Hoffman among others in Albany in December, 1867, or shortly afterwards, to canvass the political outlook.<sup>15</sup> On May 11, 1868, Tilden meekly asked Tweed to find a place for Samuel Allen, "a very old friend of ours"; and, on September 8, 1868, received a check for \$5,000 from Tweed toward campaign expenses.<sup>16</sup>

Six days earlier, on September 2, 1868, Tilden had called the Democratic state convention at Albany to order. During the proceedings Judge Morris of Brooklyn delivered a courageous attack on Tweed and Tammany. Tilden, chairman of the state committee, made no attack on Tweed and Tammany.<sup>17</sup> Republican shortcomings and economy occupied his attention, and, while it is true that national and state elections were at stake, nevertheless Tweed was a hard cross to bear on moral grounds.

Unfortunately for Tilden, A. Oakey Hall (Ring mayor of New York and secretary of the state committee) forged Tilden's name to a confidential circular letter, dated October 27, 1868, and addressed to county leaders in the state, asking each to have some reliable person in three or four principal towns and in each city of their respective counties telegraph to Tweed at Tammany Hall, "at the minute of closing the polls, not waiting for the count, such person's estimate of the vote." With this information, Tweed presumably could doctor city returns by fraudulent votes and carry the election.

Horace Greeley seriously embarrassed Tilden by printing an open letter on October 20, 1869, declaring,

you cannot escape responsibility . . . for you were at least a passive accomplice in

<sup>14</sup> See Bigelow, *Tilden*, I, 183-208, for history and origins of Ring, and also memorandum in same source, by Charles O'Connor, "Origin of the Tweed Ring," pp. 402-10. Cf. "Report of Special Committee of the Board of Aldermen Appointed to Investigate the 'Ring Frauds,' Jan. 4, 1878," Doc. No. 8; Flick, *Tilden*, chap. xvi, *passim*; Alvin F. Harlow, "William Marcy Tweed," *D.A.B.*, XIX, 79-81; Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times (1851-1921)*, chap. iii, *passim*; Morris R. Werner, *Tammany Hall* (New York, 1928), chap. iv, *passim*; Denis Tilden Lynch, "Boss" Tweed: *The Story of a Grim Generation* (New York, 1927).

<sup>15</sup> Bigelow, *Letters*, I, 214-15; Flick, *Tilden*, p. 166.

<sup>16</sup> Originals found in tin box among the William C. Whitney Papers. See Mark D. Hirsch, "More Light on Boss Tweed," *Political Science Quarterly*, LX (June, 1945). Tilden was forced to confirm this relationship on the witness stand in 1876 in the state's \$6,000,000 civil recovery suit against Tweed. See *New York Daily Register*, Feb. 29, 1876, and J. Fairfax McLaughlin, *Tilden Memorabilia: A Series of Historical Letters* (New York, 1880, pamphlet), pp. 33-37, *passim*, for David Dudley Field's damaging cross-examination. The check was made out to Tweed's own order and then endorsed on the back to Tilden, who quickly deposited it in the Bank of North America.

<sup>17</sup> *New York Tribune, Herald*, Sept. 3, 4, 1868; Flick, *Tilden*, p. 184.

the giant frauds of last November. Your name was used, without public protest on your part. . . . On the principle that "the receiver is as bad as a thief," you are as deeply implicated in them today as though your name were Tweed, O'Brien, or Oakey Hall.<sup>18</sup>

Tilden apparently did not answer Greeley's challenge "to put a stop to this business," and Flick adds: "Indeed there is no evidence that at this time he was horrified at the political corruption in the metropolis and at Albany," although later, when he was at odds with Tammany, "he asserted that as early as 1863 there developed 'antagonisms' between those who formed the Ring and himself. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Actually, in his definitive biography of Tilden, Flick presents considerable evidence of "cordial cooperation" between the Sage of Gramercy Park and the Tweed Ring; Tilden and Tweed, both intense partisans, were meeting, for example, at the former's office "on important business" or corresponding. Tilden disingenuously declared that he "had not set his foot" inside Tammany Hall while the Ring controlled it, because he met Ring members outside it!<sup>20</sup>

Furthermore, as chairman, Tilden opened the Democratic state convention at Rochester on September 21, 1870, with a lengthy speech about the Franco-Prussian War, democracy, and the danger of growing federal authority. Although Tweed and his Tammany braves were seated there in front of him, not once did Tilden mention Ring thefts and corruption. Indeed, a Tammany follower picked his watch!<sup>21</sup> The *Nation* acidly commented that he "got, we hope, a realizing sense of the company he keeps when he opens conventions and the like for Mr. Tweed, and Mr. Hall, and Mr. Hoffman."<sup>22</sup> And the *New York Times*, Republican in sympathy and openly launching its campaign against the hated Ring, scored Tilden as insincere for truckling to the Boss instead of fighting for reform.<sup>23</sup>

Tilden's later defense of his behavior in 1869 and 1870 was a curious effort. On January 27, 1873, in reply to the *Times*'s stinging attacks, he was to maintain: "I had no more knowledge or grounds of suspicion of the

<sup>18</sup> In *New York Tribune*. Also privately printed later in pamphlet form in 1877.

<sup>19</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, p. 189.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, Sept. 22, 1870, Feb. 4, 1873; and, Matthew P. Breen, *Thirty Years of New York Politics* (New York, 1899), p. 317.

<sup>22</sup> *Nation*, XI, Sept. 29, 1870. It also believed him responsible for the platform's "eulogy on Governor Hoffman," a Ring underling.

<sup>23</sup> *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1870, Feb. 4, 1873. Cf. Davis, p. 92. When Tilden on April 4, 1870, aroused Tweed's ire in the state senate by opposing his charter, he quickly sought to mollify the Boss, saying, "And let me say here, that if I know my own heart, I have no feeling of unkindness to any human being. To yourself, Mr. Chairman, or to anybody else, I am unconscious of ever having done an unkind act or entertained an unkind feeling." (Lynch, p. 327.)

frauds of 1869, as they were discovered three years afterwards, than the *Times* or the general public. But I had no faith in the men who became known as the 'Ring,' and they feared me." He had acted as he had at Rochester in 1870 because the Ring was not an issue; they had won the election of 1869 and controlled the legislature, and the general public "had acquiesced in the disposition to try them again. The whole press assented. Nearly everybody began to make relations with them. I did not. I stood aloof."<sup>24</sup>

It was this type of "aloofness" that helped Tweed make a complete sweep of the city and county elections in 1870. The Ring re-elected Governor Hoffman, the entire New York delegation to Congress, every New York City assemblyman but one, and nineteen out of twenty-two school trustees!<sup>25</sup>

The story of how the Tweed Ring operated is too well known to need repetition here. Germane, however, is the fact that the notorious charter which Tweed through bribery, intimidation, and skilled propaganda shepherded through the state legislature in 1870, gave the Ring virtual *carte blanche* and punched a drain into the municipal treasury. A board of audit was created, consisting of Mayor Hall, Comptroller Richard B. Connolly, and Tweed, president of the board of supervisors, to audit claims against the county originating before 1870.<sup>26</sup> The great bulk of these claims were fraudulent but the board of audit approved them. In addition, Tweed's handiwork almost completely neutralized the interference of state commissions in local affairs and curtailed the power of the board of aldermen.

It was against this fortress of corruption that the New York *Times* opened its bombardment in September, 1870, intensified it on July 8, 1871, with a long digest of frauds in the renting of armories, and hammered away again with editorial and evidence on July 19 and 20. Incontestable proof of vast thefts in the comptroller's office had been placed in the hands of George Jones, proprietor of the *Times*, and his editor, Louis John Jennings, by ex-Sheriff James O'Brien (a mendacious politician who had fallen out with his mentor Tweed over spoils and promissory notes, and was now Tweed's mortal enemy).<sup>27</sup> The *Times* let loose with a chapter of these figures from Con-

<sup>24</sup> Samuel J. Tilden, *The New York City "Ring": Its Origin, Maturity, and Fall* (New York, pamphlet); cf. New York *Times*, Feb. 4, 1873.

<sup>25</sup> New York *Times*, Nov. 9-22, 1870, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> The board of supervisors was to certify these claims to County Auditor James Watson, a Ring henchman, who was to present them to the board of audit for audit and authorization. That is, from Tweed to Tweed for Tweed!

<sup>27</sup> See Davis, pp. 104 ff.; Edwin P. Tanner in Alexander C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1933-37), VII, 151-54. Also, Hirsch, "More Light on Boss Tweed," *loc. cit.*, pp. 271, 272.

nolly's books on its front page on July 22, revealing fraudulent warrants—illegally certified by the board of audit—paid out in 1869 and 1870 for repairs and furniture for the new court house. On July 24 and through weeks following, more jarring disclosures filled the *Times*.<sup>28</sup> Although the warrants had been made out to different claimants, they were endorsed to Ingersoll & Co., James H. Ingersoll being a Ring contractor and Tweed's agent. The spoils had then been divided among the Ring and lesser thieves! The *Times* called for criminal prosecution.

This crusade, fortified by the similar efforts of *Harper's Weekly* and its unique and telling cartoons by Thomas Nast, created widespread comment throughout the country and in London and Paris, but strangely found many New York journals and citizens indifferent.<sup>29</sup> Where was Tilden's voice to rally confused or dulled public sentiment?

With typical indecision, Tilden timidly took two diverse paths at once rather than boldly meeting the issue. To his credit, he and William F. Havemeyer persuaded the frightened Connolly not to resign but to appoint Andrew H. Green as deputy comptroller, which Connolly did on September 16, 1871, thus ensuring safe custody of the incriminating records.<sup>30</sup> On the debit side, Tilden declined to join the nonpartisan reform Committee of Seventy until a year after its formation;<sup>31</sup> and he seemed more perturbed, as a Democrat, by the effect of the *Times's* fulminations upon his party's fortunes than, as a good citizen, interested in clean government for the whole community.<sup>32</sup> The partisan would not down.

But he struck a still sharper blow at the cause of reform when he again opened the state convention at Rochester on October 4, 1871, and once more failed to denounce Tammany. This despite the recent disclosures and wide knowledge that under the Ring the total city and county debt had rocketed from approximately \$29,000,000 in January, 1869, to \$101,000,000 in August, 1871.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, two days earlier, criminal charges had been preferred against Mayor Hall.<sup>34</sup> Amidst labored rhetoric, Tilden merely attacked Republican centralism in the federal government, denouncing Lincoln and Johnson as

<sup>28</sup> The July 29, 1871, issue contained all the evidence in a special four-page supplement, of which more than half a million copies were ultimately circulated.

<sup>29</sup> Davis, pp. 109, 110.

<sup>30</sup> New York *Times*, Dec. 26, 1872; Davis, p. 112. Flick, *Tilden*, p. 217, gives only Tilden the credit.

<sup>31</sup> New York *Times*, Feb. 11, 1873. Cf. D. S. Alexander, *The Political History of the State of New York* (New York, 1923), III, 327; Flick, *Tilden*, p. 214.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 214-16.

<sup>33</sup> *Nation*, XIII, Aug. 10, 1871. Analogously, the cost of government had risen from \$36,000,000 in 1868 to \$136,000,000 in 1870 (see Flick, p. 214). Ring thefts between 1867 and 1871 alone have been variously estimated between \$75,000,000 and \$200,000,000.

<sup>34</sup> New York *Times*, Oct. 3, 1871.

well as Grant for their low standards in official life. Ignoring the fact that Tweed was a Democrat whose charter had been forced through when the state was literally in Ring toils, he shrewdly accused the Republicans of passing such legislation at Albany as permitted irresponsible power acting in the secrecy of bureaus and commissions, thus causing corruption in New York City. He conceded only a partnership of plunder in both parties, expressed distaste for comparing the relative size of each party's leprous sores, but at the same time desired the people to judge what had been done to cleanse the Democracy.<sup>35</sup>

Although it was adjudged the regular Democratic party in the city, Tammany waived its full convention rights owing to the current scandal. But the braves chuckled at Tilden because they controlled the convention and were impervious to resolutions and indirect criticisms. His friends Oswald Ottendorfer, Charles O'Connor (by proxy), and Abraham R. Lawrence were leading a contesting anti-Tammany New York delegation, but Tilden gave the convention no opportunity to vote on their claim. He moved for the nomination of the state ticket, which was the Tammany slate of 1870 with but one exception, after announcing that he supposed that the "object" which Tammany's opponents had "desired" had been gained.<sup>36</sup> Only toward the end of the proceedings did he mildly denounce the Tiger and declare that he would work against every local Tammany candidate for the state assembly, making, however, no mention of its other nominees.<sup>37</sup> For this "courageous stand" his biographer has called Tilden "a brave man."<sup>38</sup>

Tammany, with or without Tilden, had captured the convention. To break its iniquitous grip on the city, on the very night that Ottendorfer and Lawrence were turned away, the Democratic Reform Committee was formed. Its nucleus was the Apollo Democracy founded in 1870 by a zealous band of reformers meeting at Apollo Hall, Broadway at 28th Street. It also absorbed James O'Brien's floundering Young Democracy and was thenceforth popularly known as the Apollo Hall Democracy. Among the leaders were O'Connor, Lawrence, Hewitt, Edward Cooper, Henry L. Clinton, Wheeler H. Peckham, William C. Whitney, O'Brien—and Tilden, who

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 5, 1871.

<sup>36</sup> New York *Times*, Oct. 5, 6, 1871. The exception was Secretary of State Nelson who declined renomination!

<sup>37</sup> For partisan maneuvering, the *Times* eased up on Tilden in an editorial of Oct. 6, 1871, as having tried every argument and expedient he could to get the convention to appear before the people with clean hands. Thus, the *Times* could blame the Democracy *en masse* for failing to follow his advice and for their certain defeat in the coming election.

<sup>38</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, p. 220. The reader should examine Flick's treatment in order to obtain the opposite point of view.



joined perhaps because Tweed's doom was at last discernible. He now therefore came out openly against Tammany. Some of Tweed's supporters, also seeing the handwriting on the wall, deserted to Apollo, a movement accelerated by further explosions set off by the irrepressible *Times*.<sup>39</sup>

Its leadership intelligent and determined, and comprising many prominent young men, Apollo received the support of the Committee of Seventy, the German Democratic General Committee, and the Young Men's Municipal Reform Association. Apollo held primaries, drew up a nonpartisan slate, and waged a furious reform campaign.<sup>40</sup> Police intimidation, dishonest election inspectors, and official collusion in fraud, all failed to dampen their ardor. Apollo soon put additional nominations in the field, including Tilden for state assemblyman.<sup>41</sup> Tilden had good cause for delight: on October 25, O'Connor was chosen to represent the state in the prosecution of Tweed and others upon charges contained in an affidavit by Tilden. Tweed's deposits, checking with sums stolen, were uncovered in the Broadway National Bank by Tilden, analyzed, and made public on October 26.<sup>42</sup> A warrant for the arrest of the defendants was issued, but one million dollars' bail was promptly furnished for Tweed, Jay Gould being among the bondsmen.<sup>43</sup> The formation of the Young Men's Democratic Club, almost entirely by Apolloans, on November 2, 1871, to foster purity in politics, democratic principles, and the election of honest and capable men, was also a vast aid to Apollo's cause.<sup>44</sup>

Apollo won a tremendous victory. It elected all fifteen aldermen, thirteen out of twenty-one assistant aldermen, State Senators O'Brien and Daniel E. Tiemann, and six state assemblymen. Tilden, the most noted among the latter, was assured of victory after the Committee of Seventy, and Tammany (for strategic reasons) had also endorsed him.<sup>45</sup> Apollo had enabled Tilden to breach the Ring, and the opportunity to level a demoralized Tammany Hall and bring about a civic regeneration was a golden one. Connolly was in flight early in January, 1872, City Chamberlain Bradley resigned, and other Ring members seemed destined for prison.

But the crusaders in Apollo, if aware that many of their members were camp followers of reform, political hacks, dissident Tammanyites who were anti-Tweed only, and disappointed office seekers who had helped to supply

<sup>39</sup> New York *Times*, Oct. 22-26, 1871, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> General Franz Sigel, a Republican, was nominated for county register, and the Republican convention endorsed all the nominations. For more detailed account of Apollo and contemporary reform movement, see Hirsch, *Whitney*, chap. III, *passim*.

<sup>41</sup> New York *Times*, Oct. 28, 1871.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 26, 1871; Flick, *Tilden*, pp. 221, 222.

<sup>43</sup> New York *Times*, Oct. 27, 28, 1871.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1871.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 6, 7, 9, 1871.



the votes, failed to realize that the worst defection could come from within their leadership. Thus, while Tweed, Hall, Fields, and others were still defiantly in office, and judges like Cardozo and Barnard were disgracing the Bench, it was a shock to learn that one of Tilden's closest friends, the eminent O'Connor, had been among those elected in the Tammany primaries to their general committee for 1872, and another of the Sage's lieutenants, Lawrence, was defending Tweed's bankrupt New York Printing Company against efforts to liquidate its assets in behalf of the creditors.<sup>46</sup>

The *Times* on January 12 answered the puzzle. A reorganization of Tammany was probable! Tweed, Hall, Connolly and Sweeny, four sachems in disgrace, had been forced to resign. Tammany, to survive, must "reform," but two factions arose to claim the task: one made up of Tweed survivors led by the disreputable Henry W. Genet and Henry Woltman which sought only to weather the storm and then return to Ring practices, and the other a challenging better element which elected Augustus Schell as Grand Sachem and 120 new members to the Tammany General Committee.

Could Tammany reform? And would Tilden and his wing in Apollo Hall desert to Tammany in the intended transformation? Apollo was desperately worried, and in its Executive Committee meeting on January 19 O'Brien denounced all Apollos who had accepted favors from Mayor Hall. A motion to exclude any Apollo General Committeeman if he were even remotely connected with Tammany created such a terrific uproar as to reveal that many Apollos had been eyeing their seductive rival.<sup>47</sup>

Tilden's next connection with reform proved even more tenuous. The Committee of Seventy had prepared a new charter for New York to supersede Tweed's charter of 1870 and was pressing strongly in Albany for its adoption.<sup>48</sup> Fearing also this new threat because it provided for cumulative representation, Tammany sought to unite merchants and property owners against it.<sup>49</sup> Tilden also opposed it. He quietly obstructed it while it was in the assembly and thereby undoubtedly influenced the wavering, the timid, and the quasi-reformers who were only too eager to follow their distin-

<sup>46</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 10, 1872.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 23, 1872. At the Apollo General Committee's first meeting on February 3, resolutions were adopted declaring that Apollo was the true representative of the New York Democracy, that the city should have home rule, that the Tweed criminals should be punished, and, finally, flaying Tammany as having made possible the Ring evils. (See *New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1872; *The Apollo Hall Democratic Reform General Committee*, pp. 2-16, *passim*.)

<sup>48</sup> For its provisions, see *New York Times*, Jan. 20 or Apr. 19, 1872.

<sup>49</sup> Simon Sterne, reformer and expert in constitutional law, was secretary of the committee and had adapted Thomas Hare's system to American conditions. See John Foord, *The Life and Public Services of Simon Sterne* (London, 1903), chap. viii, *passim*; and, Edward Conrad Smith, "Simon Sterne," *D.A.B.*, XVII, 592, 593.

guished colleague. Specifically, he urged against haste and consideration at present. He left the chamber when the charter was reached on the calendar. It was rumored that he would introduce his own charter in opposition, or he pleaded illness when asked to take the chair during its deliberation.<sup>50</sup>

On February 20, the charter was endorsed by an enormous mass meeting that overflowed Cooper Union, and on February 27 it passed the assembly along strict party lines with all but two Democrats against it. Tilden voted against it for reasons which under the circumstances must have seemed almost flippant: (1) local elections under the proposed charter would be held in November instead of separately in the spring; (2) he wanted a bicameral legislature instead of a unicameral one; and (3) he was opposed to limited or proportional voting.<sup>51</sup>

Apollo, Tilden's political sponsor, came out in favor of the charter on March 6, and various political clubs, organizations, and reform groups followed suit during March. On March 28, for example, a second mass meeting of German-American reform groups endorsed the charter, as did most thoughtful and civic-minded New Yorkers.

The senate passed it on March 30, but amendments sent it back to joint conference. On April 18 it was finally passed by both chambers, but Tilden was absent.<sup>52</sup> On May 1, Governor Hoffman, a Tweed puppet, vetoed the charter—giving reasons overlapping Tilden's—and was promptly sustained by a relieved assembly, eighty to thirty-seven, Tilden again being among the majority.<sup>53</sup>

The changing political scene was strengthening Tilden's hand. A second indictment on February 10 of Tweed and the other leaders of the Ring by the grand jury in general sessions was a prelude to sucking more Tildenites into the vacuum. Hewitt also became a Tammany sachem. Where would Tilden stand? The answer came on April 15, when additional sachems were elected, among them Horatio Seymour, O'Connor, and their leader Samuel J. Tilden!<sup>54</sup> Also chosen were unprincipled John Kelly, hypocritical reformer soon to battle the Sage desperately for control of Tammany and the state, and financier August Belmont, who had once certified a Tweed audit as correct and declared that the Boss's administration left nothing to be desired.

Many Apolloans followed Tilden into Tammany. Those who remained true entered the local campaign of 1872 full of principles but under no illusions. Apollo split the Democratic vote and permitted the Republicans

<sup>50</sup> See *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 9, 1872.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 28, 1872; Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, I, 196–200.

<sup>52</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1872.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 19–May 1, 1872, *passim*.

<sup>54</sup> *New York Times*, Apr. 16, 1872.

to elect an excellent ticket.<sup>55</sup> Apollo elected only a city judge, a coroner, and three aldermen, but it could not long exist by merely holding the balance of power between Tammany and the Republicans.

Tammany was enraged at Apollo, and Hewitt, ironically, in behalf of a Kelly subcommittee presented to Tammany's General Committee on November 21 certain resolutions, unanimously adopted, scourging the leaders of Apollo as a "pernicious element which had intruded itself under the guise of reform."<sup>56</sup> This was leveled against men like Clinton, Whitney, and Henry F. Dimock for remaining loyal to principles and against an organization which Tilden himself had dedicated!

Apollo accepted Tammany's defiance, but soon found itself in such turbulent discord that on June 13, 1873, overtures were made to the Wigwam for conciliation and reunion.<sup>57</sup> But Tammany, haughty and scenting victory, rebuffed Apollo and threw it off balance, thereby capturing the contested city seats in the state convention at Utica.<sup>58</sup> Further parleys also collapsed,<sup>59</sup> and Kelly's choices, ranging from weak (Donohue for the state supreme court) to deplorable (Croker for coroner), made a clean sweep on election day. Apollo Hall was dead.

Tilden's desertion had doomed Apollo Hall. The one organization, while not perfect, that might ultimately have become a beacon for cleaner and more decent municipal politics had been used for political gain and then discarded. Although it had sent Tilden to the assembly, he had scuttled the major reform it had championed. He had entered the camp of the wicked after coolly concluding that it would offer a better political future. This was craftiness, not sagacity, and it did the city a singular disservice.

In the meantime, the *Times* had continued to rage against Tammany, as well as Tilden, for still retaining two thirds of its original membership, for having elected Ring members after the exposures, and for including some of the worst and lowest of leaders. As good as the sachems might be, they were mere figureheads, for the Tammany General Committee ran the Hall. The committee was elected at primaries controlled and voted in by riffraff from the brothels and saloons, public plunderers, Tweed officeholders, convicted criminals, rowdies, and other disreputable elements.<sup>60</sup>

On February 14, 1873, the paper printed a three-column exposé of the

<sup>55</sup> John A. Dix became governor; William F. Havemeyer, mayor; and, Benjamin K. Phelps, district attorney.

<sup>56</sup> *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 22, 1872.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, June 13, 14, 1873.

<sup>58</sup> *New York Tribune, Times*, Oct. 2, 1873.

<sup>59</sup> *New York Tribune*, Oct. 10, 11; *Times*, Oct. 14-16, 1873.

<sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1873. Cf. Dec. 4, 1872.

membership of the "reformed" Tammany, district by district, unmasking the dregs of the city. How could Tilden and a few others prevail over a person like Timothy Brennan, a school commissioner and brother of the sheriff, who was guilty of assisting in the distribution of obscene and foul literature among school children? And had not a partisan jury, allegedly bribed, failed on January 31 to convict the master thief, Tweed—a jury packed by Sheriff Matthew Brennan, Commissioner Douglas and County Clerk Loew, all members of reformed Tammany?<sup>61</sup>

The most serious issue between the *Times* and Tilden, however, was: Who deserved the credit for Tweed's downfall? The *Times* vigorously reproached Tilden for lacking the courage to speak up against the Ring at its height. He had despised the thieves but yet had not publicly denounced them until it was safe to do so.<sup>62</sup> Stung by these attacks, Tilden sent his verbose and ponderous reply of January 27, 1873, mentioned earlier, but the *Times* ridiculed his boast of lionhearted courage in having stepped into the breach just as that paper was about to retreat! He admittedly had entered the arena of reform on November 2, 1871, considerably after the *Times* had pointed the way. It declared editorially:

It was not until success was assured by the results of the November [1871] election that the intrepidity of his soul revealed itself. After that he did good service—we have never denied it. . . . When Tweed was dangerous, Mr. Tilden did not venture to stand in his path. When Tweed was down, Mr. Tilden pulled out his little sword and declared that he had killed him.<sup>63</sup>

As early as November, 1871, the *Nation* had substantiated the *Times*'s claims. "The public has hitherto, and with a near approach to unanimity, awarded to the *Times* the principal share in the work of bringing the Ring to destruction, and we take leave to say that this is one of the subjects on which the public is not likely to be mistaken."<sup>64</sup> The *Times*, however, was greatly aided by Nast's crusading cartoons in *Harper's Weekly*, which were "more effective in reaching the public than all the legal learning of Tilden."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 2, 14, 1873.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1872. The *Times* at the same time also assailed O'Connor and Hewitt. Hewitt's reply two days later was swift but lame (*Times*, Dec. 26, 1872). See further attacks on Tilden in issues of Jan. 4, 21, 1873.

<sup>63</sup> New York *Times*, Feb. 4, 1873. Alexander, in his *Political History of the State of New York*, III, 327, also denies Tilden's claims, and David K. Rothstein concurs in his "Samuel J. Tilden" (Columbia Univ., seminar paper for Prof. Allan Nevins, Jan. 1934), pp. 2, 3, 66. Cf. Lynch, p. 327. Nevins, however, in his *Abram S. Hewitt*, p. 292, and Flick, in his *Tilden*, chap. XVIII, *passim*, give great credit to Tilden for his labors in the destruction of the Tweed Ring.

<sup>64</sup> *Nation*, XIII, Nov. 23, 1871.

<sup>65</sup> Tanner, in Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York*, VII, 152.

When Tweed died in Ludlow Street Jail on April 12, 1878, there could be little doubt as to who had been his nemesis and the archfoe of his evil Ring.

A biographical probing into a public figure's character, his deeds or misdeeds, and his possible mistakes, without adducing a moral or a deeper lesson, is a sterile exercise. No person is immune from human fallibility. The best of public servants, as well as other men, could undoubtedly be subjected to some degree of critical if not hostile scrutiny by trained researchers or partisan investigators. Statesmen are great not because of absence of all error in judgment or of weaknesses that might have clouded their records but because their over-all accomplishments have been constructive, beneficial, or inspirational, or because in times of great crisis they faced up to momentous issues without regard for personal consequences.

Samuel J. Tilden possessed his quota of strengths and weaknesses. He has had—even during his lifetime—his defenders and his detractors. He was a center of fierce partisan controversy and a victim of our most famous, or infamous, presidential election. He was accused of being a Copperhead and worse during the Civil War.<sup>66</sup> Oakes Ames testified that Tilden had advised him that the scandalous *Crédit Mobilier* was legal.<sup>67</sup> Tilden's paralyzing timidity had probably cost him the Presidency in the disputed election of 1876.<sup>68</sup> He was charged with culpability or disingenuous innocence in the matter of the Cipher Despatches and the probe that followed; with a fraudulent income tax return for 1862-63 and none for 1864-71; and, with selfish and unfair vacillation before and during the Democratic National Convention in 1880 which injured his party's chances that year.<sup>69</sup> His disastrous connection with the St. Louis, Alton and Terre Haute Railroad ended, few know, with the Sage in 1880 compromising its suit against him (and three other trustees) for the recovery of certain illegally retained bonds of the road by repaying the company the requested \$100,000!<sup>70</sup>

Some of this was vilification or intense partisanship, and some of the criticism was deserved. Against this must be balanced the fine work done by Tilden against the Canal ring, his actual examination of Tweed's bank account, his advocacy of sound money, and his excellent gubernatorial

<sup>66</sup> See Flick, *Tilden*, chap. xxv, *passim*.

<sup>67</sup> The *Times* and the Republicans hammered away at this *mésalliance* of Tilden's.

<sup>68</sup> See Nevins, *Hewitt*, pp. 323 ff.; Bowers, pp. 508, 532-33. For a new interpretation of this election, see C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston, 1951).

<sup>69</sup> Flick, *Tilden*, chap. xxxiii, *passim*; Hirsch, *Whitney*, pp. 106, 107, 117, 118; Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, II, chaps. vi, vii, *passim*; Nevins, *Hewitt*, pp. 395-99.

<sup>70</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1880; Hirsch, *Whitney*, pp. 90-91, 153. The other three trustees were Russell Sage, Robert Bayard, and Charles Butler.

record. All this has been recorded, and the historian may balance the facts and draw his own conclusions.

The cause for complaint against Tilden lies instead in something else—the abandonment of a higher trust as evidenced by a shabby performance in the prosecution of the Tweed Ring and the desertion of the Apollo Hall Democracy. He failed to realize that in the beginning he was venerated by younger Democrats, like Dickinson, everywhere, who regarded him as the Moses who was to lead them out of the political wilderness, and to crush and root out corruption and jobbery—whether Tweedism in his own party or Grantism on the national scale.

These “youngsters” expected inspirational leadership, some boldness and courage, and, above all, statesmanship. Instead they got guile, indecision, and timorousness. They noticed at close hand his personal ambition. Tilden’s failure to rise to great stature in this critical time may well have created a cynical and disillusioned group, conditioned to accept a meaner tone and internecine bickerings in contemporary politics as the normal mode. Worse, it left control of the city and state Democratic organizations more easily in such hands as Kelly’s, Croker’s, the Sheehans’, the Murphys’, Hill’s, and their ilk. It made harder the work of men like Hewitt, Cleveland, Edward Cooper, Clinton, Whitney, and Manning. The story of Samuel J. Tilden may not be so much one of a lost cause as one of a lost opportunity.

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# Liberals at War: The Economic Policies of the Government of National Defense, 1870-1871

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THE revolution of September 4, 1870, the last of the French revolutions of the nineteenth century, and the Government of National Defense which followed in its wake have been studied as a sort of parenthesis in time between the fall of the Second Empire and the meeting of the National Assembly on February 16, 1871. As such, they have been regarded as constituting a self-contained unit of time in which certain problems were posed and solved once and for all, for better or for worse. A tempestuous period characterized by great heroism and great folly, it has inevitably attracted the military and political historian. The war in the provinces and the siege of Paris by the Prussians end on a note of high tragedy and abrupt finality. But from the economic and social point of view the period has a curiously different aspect: less foolish, less heroic, less tragic. In this light, it appears to possess a continuity with past and future which it otherwise lacks. Despite the revolutionary origin of the government, the financial institutions and even the economic thought of the empire were perpetuated, while at the same time the problems of the new republic took shape and their solutions, or the lack of them, were foreshadowed.

From the first, the revolution of September 4 presented a mass of contradictions. It was carried through by a group of men who were not essentially revolutionaries in order to prevent a revolution by a group of men who were. The same men who had opposed the war were, after the revolution, obliged to direct it. The same group who had opposed the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon found themselves on the morrow of his overthrow a self-constituted dictatorship. The same men who had proposed a program of decentralization found themselves in the position of having to crush separatism. A group of distinguished critics had been given the actors' roles. Lawyers for the prosecution had been handed the case for the defense. Men who were exclusively Parisian undertook to speak for all of France. To this group of intelligent men, strong in their convictions, the basic contradictions



inherent in their position soon became apparent. They found themselves both unable and unqualified to take the decisive measures for which the situation called; this was particularly true from the economic point of view, since it was in this field that convictions were strongest. Like many political groups which, after a long period of irresponsible opposition, find themselves suddenly face to face with the realities and responsibilities of administration, the Government of National Defense was pushed inevitably toward conservatism.

Although united in a basic hostility to the empire, the new government was not a homogeneous group from a political standpoint. It was a group of men thrown together largely by accident in a government formed by accident, and as such it had its dissident elements. There were those left over, so to speak, from the Revolution of 1848—Favre, Simon, Crémieux, Picard, Glais-Bizoin, Garnier-Pagès, Pelletan, and Arago, and there were the newer republicans, critical of the romanticism of the older men—Gambetta, Magnin, Dorian, Ferry, and Rochefort. The one common denominator was that they were all, with the exception of the fiery pamphleteer, Henri de Rochefort, bourgeois and orthodox nineteenth century liberals with all the ideological appurtenances of a fundamental belief in economic and political freedom for the individual. Even Gambetta falls into this category, for by September 4 he was considered a deserter by his radical Belleville constituency, and Rochefort was included in the government only on the principle that it was safer to have him within than without.<sup>1</sup> General Trochu, the new president, accepted his post with the assurance sworn to by Jules Favre in the name of the other members that the new government would respect "God, Family, and Property."<sup>2</sup>

From an economic standpoint, the republicans had occupied an anomalous position under the empire. A group of orthodox liberals under an economic regime that was itself liberal, the republicans had in fact been more divided among themselves, on such basic matters as free trade,<sup>3</sup> than they had been, collectively speaking, against the empire.

Basically the economic complaints of the moderate Left were limited to simple matters of administration. They condemned imperial centralization, oversize bureaucracy, public works carried to the extreme, exciting foreign policy. Above all, feeling that the basis of good government lay in the balanced budget, they disapproved of the empire's excessive borrowing. They

<sup>1</sup> Lord Newton, *Lord Lyons: A Record of British Diplomacy* (London, 1913), I, 313.

<sup>2</sup> Général Louis Jules Trochu, "Le siège de Paris," *Oeuvres posthumes* (Tours, 1896), I, 199.

<sup>3</sup> Jules Simon, for example, was a violent free-trader, as evidenced by his *Le libre échange* (Paris, 1870), whereas Joseph Magnin, an industrialist, had become a protectionist by the end of the empire. See Georges Duveau, *La vie ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1946), p. 131.

believed that "commercial liberty, although good in itself, could only produce economic good when the country was politically free."<sup>4</sup> Briefly, it had seemed to them that the suppression of poor economic expenditures through control by a legislature elected by an educated public would automatically bring with it the lowering of taxes, a stimulus to commerce and agriculture, and, in short, the economic millennium. The social millennium, that is, the fusion of classes and the abolition of social orders, would follow in due course under the influence of this "great, active, egalitarian Liberty."<sup>5</sup> Political liberty in combination with education was regarded as the true foundation of equality. As Jules Ferry remarked, "the only real inequality left was the inequality of education."<sup>6</sup>

Thus, though the line between imperial and republican economic belief was essentially a thin one, and though the lessons of the June Days of 1848 were not forgotten, those who became the men of September 4 persisted in the conviction that they were economic as well as political radicals. During the five months that they carried on the war against the Prussians, this illusion was destroyed. The period of the Commune, which followed, merely confirmed what they had already learned, that they were not radical, but conservative, and that conservatism was not a natural, innate quality in free men, but like property itself must be defended, even at the expense of some basic republican liberties. Just as the Revolution of 1848 destroyed much of the *political* idealism of liberal doctrine, so the winter of 1870-71 destroyed the idealism of liberal *economic* theory.

Nevertheless, on September 4, the republican Government of National Defense regarded itself as following in the great revolutionary tradition. Its first proclamation reinvoked past glories: "The Republic beat back the invasion in 1792; the Republic is proclaimed!"<sup>7</sup> That date recalled political liberty, presented challenging proof of the effectiveness of the *levée en masse*, pointed up the magic quality of the *élan* which appeared to follow naturally

<sup>4</sup> Lucien Delabrosse, *Joseph Magnin et son temps (1824-1910)* (Paris, 1915), I, 78.

<sup>5</sup> Henri Allain-Targé, *Les déficits, 1852-1868* (Paris, 1868), p. 27. However, this did not prevent the republicans from taking an interest in mild social reform. Conditions prevalent amongst women workers was a favorite subject of concern. Simon, Pelletan, and Freycinet, who was to be Gambetta's delegate in the provinces, had written on the problem.

<sup>6</sup> Jules Ferry, *Discours et opinions* (Paris, 1893-98), I, 287. The economic side of "equality" worried republican pamphleteers. For an interesting collection of literature of this sort, see the titles listed under Lb57 at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. For typical examples of republican criticisms of imperial administration, see also: J. E. Horn, *Le bilan de l'Empire* (Paris, 1868), *Salut au troisième milliard!* (Paris, 1868), *Les finances de l'Hôtel de Ville* (Paris, 1869); Henri Merlin, *L'Empire et ses principes financiers* (Paris, 1868); Raoul Boudon, *La vérité sur la situation économique et financière de l'Empire* (Paris, 1867); Jules Ferry, *Les comptes fantastiques d'Hausman* (Paris, 1868).

<sup>7</sup> *Les mairies politiques françaises depuis le 18 juillet 1870 jusqu'au 25 mai 1871* (Paris, 1874), I, 1.

upon the *levée en masse*, and gave the men of September 4 historical justification for their military acts. However, their faith in 1792 was carefully circumscribed in point of fact, for that date recalled not only military prowess but also dictatorship, financial chaos, and bankruptcy.<sup>8</sup> As time went on, it became more and more apparent that 1870 was not 1792. In the latter the threat came from the Right, forcing the Revolution, until Thermidor, to the Left, whereas in the former, the threat to the Republic came from the Left, thus forcing the government of September 4 to the Right.

For the extreme Left in France also looked back with nostalgia on the Revolution of 1789. But where the members of the government recalled the *élan* produced by the proclamation of the Republic, the lower classes recalled the good accomplished by the act of revolution. The working classes in the large towns—Paris, Marseilles, Lyons—felt that the first revolution also offered historical justification for what they believed, and for what they wanted.

The Second Empire had brought little real benefit to the workers. Under it "the workers' misery had been greater and more widespread than is commonly thought,"<sup>9</sup> not because the poor had become poorer but because their wages had remained stable and the rich had become richer. Workers' dissatisfaction had taken advantage of the freedom of association permitted in the last years of the empire, and strikes such as that in the coal basin of the Loire in 1869 and the great Creuzot strike in 1870 became more and more frequent. The war against Germany merely directed this dissatisfaction into new channels; the economic demands remained the same. The proletariat felt that victory in 1870 could be won only through such economic measures as those of 1793–1794 which, by fusing social classes, had given all France that spirit which made victory possible.<sup>10</sup> The government and the working class both pledged themselves to a war *à outrance*, a war to the knife. But to each it meant something different.

Too unsure of itself to call elections to ratify its position, aware of dissidence in its own ranks, aware finally of social and economic cleavage, afraid of the extreme Left, opposed by principle to the Right, the Government of

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Jules Ferry's remarks in regard to Edgar Quinet's history of the Revolution. Ferry, *Discours et opinions*, I, 99 ff. For Gambetta's views on such Revolutionary figures as Danton, Robespierre, and Mirabeau, see V. Deluns-Montaud, "La philosophie de Gambetta," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, January–March, 1897, pp. 247, 248. See also Eugène Pelletan, *Décadence de la monarchie* (Paris, 1861), chaps. 13 ("Commerce") and 18 ("Le bilan"), for the economic evils which the Revolution was to correct.

<sup>9</sup> Duveau, p. 542.

<sup>10</sup> In practice, of course, these ideas were much corrupted by more recent thinking, particularly by Proudhon's individualism and anti-authoritarianism. But the ideas were still very much alive. See Duveau, pp. 543–50.

National Defense undertook to organize victory. On the morrow of September 4, it took stock of the situation and found it frighteningly simple. The northeastern departments of France were occupied by 400,000 Prussians. In Germany 700,000 troops stood ready to reinforce those already in France. France herself no longer had an army. Munitions and arms were no more ready than the soldiers who were to use them.<sup>11</sup>

The economic situation, however, looked less dire. The provisioning of Paris, as Joseph Magnin, the new minister of commerce, was first to admit, had made remarkable progress under the last empire ministry.<sup>12</sup> Ernest Picard, the new finance minister, likewise congratulated his predecessor, Pierre Magne, for he found two billion francs in the coffers of the imperial treasury.<sup>13</sup> Supplementary credits totaling 560 million francs had been opened (laws of July 17 and 21). Magne had floated a huge new public loan which had been subscribed to in the amount of 805 million francs, although only 260 millions had actually been collected.<sup>14</sup> A moratorium had been declared on bills of exchange (August 13). Furthermore, the Bank of France, at that time still a private institution, had come to the fore as during previous national crises. It had loaned 100 million francs (July 18 and August 19) to the government, had advanced 40 million more to the Caisse des Dépôts et Consignations, to restrain runs on savings banks, had authorized the issue of more bank notes to increase the money in circulation, and had protected the country's supply of gold and silver by declaring bank notes legal tender and inconvertible (law of August 12).<sup>15</sup>

All in all, the Government of National Defense felt that the most pressing financial necessities had been taken care of. This state of economic preparedness had a twofold effect. In the first place, it tended to erase from republican memory former criticisms of empire economics; in the second, it created a false sense of economic security. It was felt that the war would be of short duration, and that victory or defeat would be achieved within a very few weeks.<sup>16</sup> Political problems, the introduction of republican mayors and prefects, seemed far more important at first. Not until Paris was besieged and holding fast, not until the actual organization of the war in the provinces

<sup>11</sup> Léon Riant, *Rapport fait au nom de la commission des marchés, relativement à l'enquête sur le matériel de la guerre, présenté à l'Assemblée nationale, 4 avril 1875* (St. Just, n.d.).

<sup>12</sup> "Déposition de M. Magnin," *Enquête parlementaire sur les actes du Gouvernement de la Défense nationale* (Paris, 1876), V, 233 ff. Hereinafter this work will be cited simply as *Enquête*.

<sup>13</sup> "Déposition de M. Ernest Picard," *ibid.*, V, 224.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Durieux, *Le ministre Pierre Magne, 1806-1879, d'après ses lettres et ses souvenirs* (Paris, 1929), p. 265.

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed account of the bank's acts during the war of 1870-71, see Gabriel Ramon, *Histoire de la Banque de France, d'après les sources originales* (Paris, 1929), pp. 314-22.

<sup>16</sup> "Déposition de M. le général Trochu," *Enquête*, V, 139.

was begun, was there any realization of the huge economic problems that must be faced.

It was on September 12 that the government first realized that with siege imminent it could not confine itself to Paris alone but must send a delegation to the provinces. On that day Crémieux and Glais-Bizoin were sent to Tours with a skeleton staff of bureaucrats to handle civil affairs. When it became evident that the center of active resistance was to be not Paris but the provinces, Gambetta left the capital by balloon to join the group in the provinces. Arriving in Tours on October 9, he united in his hands the ministry of the interior and that of war, and thus made himself a virtual dictator.

Thiers later called Gambetta a "raging madman" who stopped at nothing to gain the ends he desired.<sup>17</sup> In rightist history, this tradition has remained strong. With him as a driving force, it would be expected that the delegation at Tours would have governed in a radical and daring fashion. In economic matters, however, the delegation never acted in a manner that was anything but sage, reasonable, and conservative.

The extreme Left was aware from the start that Gambetta's radicalism was mere declamation. "Gambetta is a revolutionary who is not a revolutionary," declared Flourens.<sup>18</sup> And on October 20 the ever-pessimistic Blanqui stated simply, "He has carried out of Paris the fatal malady of the provisional government: uncertainty, fear of the people, obsequiousness to the reaction."<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps fear of the people was at the root of Gambetta's conviction that a government should be strong and centralized.<sup>20</sup> In any case, his very first acts in the provinces involved suppression of the separatists in the South and East of France. Around Lyons, Marseilles, Nice, and Toulouse central authority had completely disintegrated.<sup>21</sup>

The divisionary groups believed that the revolutionary ardor of 1793 stemmed from the fusion of bourgeoisie and proletariat: "That is what gave force to the bourgeois revolutionaries of 1793. Not only did they not fear the unchaining of the passions of the people but they provoked it with all their energy, as the only way of safety for the country and for themselves against the reaction within and without."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Annales de l'Assemblée nationale*, III, 295 (June 8, 1871), but see also p. 524.

<sup>18</sup> Gustave Flourens, *Paris livré* (Paris, 1871), p. 60.

<sup>19</sup> Auguste Blanqui, *La Patrie en danger* (Paris, 1871), p. 147.

<sup>20</sup> Unlike those Republicans who had adhered to the decentralist program of Nancy, Gambetta believed that a strong central government was essential to a democracy. See Paul Deschanel, *Gambetta* (Paris, 1919), p. 48.

<sup>21</sup> For accounts of the revolts in the provincial cities, consult the *Enquête* for the depositions of Challemel-Lacour (Lyons); Esquiros, Gent, and Rouvier (Marseilles); Baragnon and Dufraisse (Nice); and Morin (Saône-et-Loire). See in particular the report of M. de Sugny, Vol. II, which cites the press and numerous minutes of Committee of Public Safety meetings.

<sup>22</sup> M. A. Bakounine, *Lettres à un Français sur la crise actuelle* (Paris, 1870), p. 37. The anarchist's influence was strong in Lyons.

Inspired by 1793, and although not acutely class-conscious, nonetheless aware of social strain, the divisionary groups set about preparing the defense. The programs of the various revolutionary committees varied considerably, but there was a basic unity among them. Almost all, for instance, demanded immediate requisitions of money, as had the Committee of Public Safety in 1793-1794. As in the great Revolution, there was a general demand to confiscate the goods of the clergy, of the high functionaries of the fallen regime, and of the *émigrés* (in this case those who had fled to England and Switzerland). There was the same desire to suppress sinecures and the overpayment of officials. Unlike 1793, little attempt was made to do anything for the peasants. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the peasant class had enjoyed a period of relative contentment under the empire, or perhaps it was due to the lack of rapport between city workers and the peasant population, which had become so marked under the Second Empire.

Other measures, more the heritage of Proudhon than of the Revolution, involved a change in the country's tax system. It was suggested that the *octroi* and certain other indirect taxes be abolished, for, "contrary to democratic principle, [they] weighed most heavily on the most numerous and poorest class."<sup>23</sup> It was suggested further that these taxes be replaced by a proportional tax on revenue, capital, or both. Such taxes had been demanded in 1848, but the form which the 1870 measures took seems to have been borrowed from Proudhon's *Théorie de l'impôt*, which appeared in 1861. Such measures had been specifically repudiated by Robespierre and other Revolutionary figures, but Proudhon maintained that they were a natural "deduction from the concept of justice presented by the maxims and definitions of 1789."<sup>24</sup>

Gambetta saw to it that these ideas were never put into practice, as they endangered the strong central government which he planned. The task of crushing the activity of the extreme Left in the provinces proved to be a relatively easy one. However, the red flag waved throughout the war from the town hall at Lyons, and the government of Tours never succeeded in ridding itself of its fear of the threat presented by the extreme Left. That threat persisted, if not in fact, at least in the minds of the policy-makers.

Those in charge of directing policy in the provinces were the members of the government—Gambetta, Crémieux, Glais-Bizoin, and Admiral Fourichon, who voted the necessities—and a finance council who assisted them in an advisory capacity. Constituted by a decree of September 25, this council played an important role in administration, as is amply evidenced

<sup>23</sup> "Rapport de M. Delsol sur la Ligue du Sud-Ouest," *Enquête*, I, 112.

<sup>24</sup> P. J. Proudhon, *Théorie de l'impôt* (Paris, 1861), p. 3.



by the tributes paid it during the postwar inquest. Made up almost entirely of men who had been influential in imperial financial circles,<sup>25</sup> it shows clearly that while the new government considered it imperative that all figureheads of the government, such as prefects and mayors, should be republicans, it nonetheless relied heavily on the advice and services of trained empire personnel in financial matters.

The economic problems facing the delegation were varied and complex.<sup>26</sup> The basic problem, of course, was that of organizing and equipping a new army, and of preparing for the revictualing of Paris when the siege was lifted. This inevitably posed the questions of what to buy and where, how best to draft factories and labor for war production, how to adjust customs to facilitate the import of war materiel, and, for the first time in France, how best to harness the railroads for war service. These problems were complicated by the fact that war and invasion had crippled vital industries. Unemployment caused by idle factories, on the one hand, and shortage of labor caused by the inroads of the *levée en masse* on the other, presented a challenge involving the redeployment of labor in an attempt to cure both these ills. Where no cure was possible, succor was to be provided. Succor was needed too by the prisoners-of-war in Germany, and by servicemen's families at home.

Vast sums of money were required if these problems were to be solved, and the delegation's resources were pathetically inadequate. It had been sent to the provinces with a credit of 150 million francs, and was authorized to meet additional expenses with the receipts from whatever tax collections it could effect, with the expected payments on the Magne loan, and by drawing on any available departmental funds. These resources were in no sense sufficient and lack of funds soon became the most difficult problem faced by the delegation.

The people of France made a gallant stand during the fall and winter of 1870-1871, but there was no heroism in matters of high finance. Risking life and risking property were not at all the same thing. Restricted by liberal

<sup>25</sup> For example, its heads, Messrs. de Roussy and Roy, delegates of the ministry of finance, had been respectively director-general of the *Comptabilité publique* and director-general of *Enregistrement, domaines, et timbres* under the empire.

<sup>26</sup> For the economic acts of the delegation see particularly the *Procès-verbaux du conseil des finances* (Pau, 1871) (not available in Paris; located in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Pau). See also the *Enquête*: "Rapport de M. Boreau-Lajanadie" (I, 514 ff.), "Déposition de M. Cuvier" (I, 524 ff.), "Déposition de M. de Roussy" (I, 528 ff.), "Déposition de M. Laurier" (I, 532 ff.; V, 322 ff.), "Déposition de M. Dumoustier de Frédilly" (I, 538 ff.), "Déposition de M. Roy" (I, 540 ff.). For strictly financial analyses of provincial problems, see: Just Haristoy, "Les opérations financières de la France pendant la guerre de 1870-1871," *Revue de science et de législation financières* (Paris, 1914), pp. 389-434, and A. de Malarce, "La gestion financière de la Délégation de Tours et de Bordeaux," *Le Correspondant*, May 25, July 10, and Aug. 25, 1874.



doctrine on the one hand and by conservative advisers on the other, the delegation vacillated. Hampered by the contemporary republican belief in the importance of economic freedom, it hesitated to institute a dictated economy. Constantly warned by the finance council to protect France's credit, painfully aware of its inadequate resources, it hesitated before the daring acts which some thought might have led the country to victory. Unsure even of its own authority, feeling itself to be a purely provisional government, not duly elected to represent France, it took no drastic measures. The economic history of the war in the provinces is a story of caution, sagacity, and opportunities missed.

A study of the *Bulletin des lois* might lead one to believe that the delegation acted swiftly and decisively. But between law and practice the gap was wide.

Faced first with the task of equipping a new army, the delegation issued decrees designed to provide the necessary materiel. It encouraged the women to sew,<sup>27</sup> gave its generals the right of requisition,<sup>28</sup> and in an effort to pass some of its financial and administrative burdens to others, it decreed that, "in the spirit of centralization," the departments and communes should raise the money to dress, equip, and pay the new army.<sup>29</sup> The women's sewing proved but a meager expedient. The right to requisition was seldom indulged, for it was felt that requisition encroached on the sacred law of property and was only justifiable in cases of extreme emergency, such as unexpected troop movements. The departments and communes were unable to equip their soldiery adequately. Administrative chaos was the result.<sup>30</sup>

This chaos was particularly evident in the field of war purchases. On September 9 an armaments commission, headed by Jules LeCesne, had been formed and charged with the centralization and monopoly of purchasing arms and munitions. But departmental confusion, overly zealous prefects, and uncontrolled subcommittees soon deprived LeCesne of any true monopoly, and France found herself in the tragic position of competing against herself for the best prices.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Adolphe Crémieux, ed., *Gouvernement de la Défense nationale: Actes de la Délégation à Tours et à Bordeaux* (Tours, 1871), p. 46A.

<sup>28</sup> See Charles de Freycinet, Dispatch No. 247 (Nov. 23, 1870) in manuscript at the Ecole Polytechnique, Paris.

<sup>29</sup> "Circulaire, Tours, 24 octobre, 1870, de Jules Cazot, secrétaire-général du ministère de l'Intérieur aux préfets et sous-préfets," *Enquête*, VII, 175.

<sup>30</sup> For a good, although exaggerated, study of this chaos, see Henri Dutrait-Crozon, *Gambetta et la Défense nationale, 1870-1871* (Paris, 1934), pp. 120-22.

<sup>31</sup> After the war, all purchases were investigated by a commission headed by the duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier. See his speeches delivered June 27, 1871, May 4 and 22, 1872, and July 29, 1872. See also Henri Durangel, *Rapport sur les dépenses de la mobilisation des gardes nationales* (Paris, 1877), and the *Rapport de la Cour des Comptes (exercice 1870)* (Paris, 1876).

Other decrees designed to aid France in her task of arming and feeding the people were those which lowered tariff barriers on incoming munitions, food, and clothing (October 8, November 14, December 31, and January 28), those which forbade the export of those items that might be needed by the people of France (October 12, November 22, November 27, and December 1), and those designed to keep France's food supplies out of the hands of the advancing enemy (October 22 and November 19). Again these laws became empty words. The finance council, made up of confirmed protectionists, constantly opposed efforts to lower tariff barriers. The export laws did less than good prices toward keeping goods in France. The "scorched earth" laws were generally forgotten because they proved unenforceable.

The decrees designed to mobilize the nation's factories and manpower for war production were likewise seldom enforced. When commissars were sent to the army, as they had been during the first Revolution, or inspectors sent to the railroad companies, they went with no real power of action. They could serve only in the capacity of expeditors, and as such aroused much resentment while accomplishing little.<sup>32</sup>

Railroad administration provides perhaps the best example of the government's policy toward private business. The war ministry dispatches of the period reveal that the relationship between government and rail companies was constantly strained.<sup>33</sup> Freycinet, Gambetta's delegate at the ministry of war, even suspected that the railroad companies, far from aiding the war effort, had shipped much of their rolling stock to Switzerland for safekeeping. Having been a railroad executive before the war, he was in a position to know, although it is now impossible to find proof of his suspicions.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, despite the lack of co-operation on the part of the railroads, and despite urgent pleas from the military, the government did little to centralize control over the lines. A series of decrees, issued between October 16 and January 17, attempted to militarize them, but they never produced really useful results, and Gambetta and Freycinet decided that the railroads were too powerful to handle.<sup>35</sup> They were convinced that the government's chief support lay with business interests and that nothing should be allowed to alienate this support.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> François F. Steenackers and F. Legoff, *Histoire du Gouvernement de la Défense nationale en province* (Paris, 1884), I, 423-25. For the manner in which railroad intendants were to be used, see Freycinet, Dispatch No. 565 (Dec. 10, 1870).

<sup>33</sup> See Freycinet, Dispatch No. 146 (Nov. 16, 1870), No. 168 (Nov. 18), No. 305 (Nov. 26), and No. 1167 (Jan. 19, 1871).

<sup>34</sup> Freycinet, Dispatch No. 1036 (Jan. 12, 1871) and No. 1114 (Jan. 16).

<sup>35</sup> Général Charles Antoine Thoulas, *Paris, Tours, Bordeaux* (Paris, 1892), pp. 145 ff.

<sup>36</sup> For a study of the role played by the railroads, see François Jacqmin, *Les chemins de fer*

Where unemployment prevailed, the problem was considered a social rather than an economic one. Worried by the essential restlessness of the working class and mindful of the red flag flying over Lyons, the delegation felt that at all costs it must keep the workers fed and thus content with the new government. Since a dole ran counter to republican principles, a decree of November 28 launched a public works program backed by a capital of six million francs. This sum, inadequate though it was, when combined with the succor liberally dispensed to those who had suffered from the invasion, to servicemen's families (by the laws of November 14 and December 27), and to prisoners-of-war in Germany, served to hold the support of the lower classes and to prevent any further major social disturbance.

Thus it was that in the provinces social problems ranked second to those of administration. Administrative problems, on the other hand, were overshadowed by financial problems. The task that faced the delegation was a costly one, and the mistakes that were made raised expenditures to a terrifying height. Pressed by the finance council, the delegation indulged in all sorts of petty economies. Whenever possible, for example, it paid bills in treasury bonds rather than in cash, until it became apparent that French credit was suffering when these were converted into cash abroad.<sup>37</sup>

Remembering the financial disasters of 1848 and continuing the work of the last empire ministry, the delegation tried to prevent private hoarding by restricting the amounts that could be withdrawn from savings accounts. By a series of decrees from September 11 to January 8, it repeatedly renewed the moratorium on private debts.

To swell its resources, it encouraged private contributions and gifts although, considering the wealth of France, these were surprisingly small.<sup>38</sup> It authorized the floating of loans and the raising of taxes on a local level. There was even a certain amount of treasure-hunting. A large sum was found at Bordeaux and put back into circulation, and thirty-one thousand francs of pontifical monies lying idle at Lyons were put to use once more.

But with expenses rising from five to ten million francs a day, it was obvious that far larger resources were needed. It was felt, however, that no new taxes could be levied, for collection would be extremely difficult and the popularity of the government would unquestionably suffer. It was realized too that, despite the recent Magne loan, any further attempt to increase

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*pendant la guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, 1872), also Baron Ernouf, *Histoire des chemins de fer français pendant la guerre franco-prussienne* (Paris, 1874), and Guigues. "Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale," *Revue militaire française*, n.s. XLIII (January-March, 1932), 29-35. All three works are extremely critical of the government's policy.

<sup>37</sup> Malarce, in *Le Correspondant*, Aug. 25, 1874, pp. 837 ff.

<sup>38</sup> For a typical list of these see *Le Pays*, Sept. 11, 1870.

the public debt would cause panic in the entire *rentier* class, and would moreover be undersubscribed.<sup>39</sup> Even the Magne loan was not bringing in the sums expected. Cuvier, the delegate of the Bank of France in the provinces, proved unexpectedly reluctant to put the bank's funds at the disposal of the delegation. Hampered by the difficulty of communication with Paris, he would consent to only one loan, one hundred million francs on October 9, and from then until the end of the year refused all further grants.

In desperation the delegation considered issuing paper money. Cuvier himself suggested it as preferable to an unsanctioned loan from the bank. Later a man named Gilbert proposed an issue of state paper backed by the railroads. Gambetta sent a famous telegram on December 23, declaring that if necessary he would break the Bank of France and put out paper money.<sup>40</sup> The finance council, however, stood firm, and reminded the delegation of the unfortunate precedent set by the *assignats* of the first Revolution. As a result, "the state paper was unanimously rejected."<sup>41</sup>

Thus, since prejudice or conscience had rendered all other courses impossible, the members of the delegation were forced to follow the course they had criticized so harshly under the empire. They turned to borrowing as a solution. Unable to enlist the aid of the Bank of France and finding banks in the colonies poorly equipped to lend the large sums needed, they determined to attempt a loan abroad. Knowing that a great amount of European capital had been exported from the war-torn Continent to England and was lying there begging for investment at 2 per cent, they turned to the House of Morgan in London, and requested a 250 million franc loan.<sup>42</sup>

Even after infinite bargaining by men of impeccable financial reputation, Denion-Dupin and Clément Laurier, the loan when granted was not an unmitigated success. Members of the government, when they heard of it, objected to it on principle. General Trochu, the president, stated that he was against any and all loans, while Picard felt that the delegation had no legal

<sup>39</sup> For contemporary comment on the subject, consult Eugène Villedieu, *Les finances de la France et la guerre* (reprinted from *L'Océan*) (Brest, n.d.).

<sup>40</sup> "Dépêche télégraphique, No. 5146; Gambetta à Crémieux et à Freycinet," *Enquête*, IV, 100.

<sup>41</sup> Alexandre O. Glais-Bizoin, *Dictature de cinq mois* (Paris, 1873), p. 91. The nearest approach to an issue of paper money was the sanction given to the formation of local syndicates which, upon the deposit of bank notes, issued small notes of one, two, five, and ten francs, negotiable only in the department where they were issued. This was, however, only a remedy for the prevailing shortage of currency in small denominations and not in any way a remedy for the shortage of funds.

<sup>42</sup> The principal accounts of this loan will be found in: "Rapport de M. Boreau-Lajanadie," *Enquête*, I, 516 ff.; Malarce, in *Le Correspondant*, May 25, July 10, and Aug. 24, 1874; Amagat, *Les emprunts et les impôts de la rançon de 1871* (Paris, 1889); Renaud (procureur général), "Les finances de la France pendant la guerre de 1870-1871," *Audience solennelle de rentrée du 16 octobre 1894* (Paris, 1894), pp. 21-30.

right to make such commitments in the name of the people.<sup>43</sup> The Germans capitalized on this disagreement within the Government of National Defense and publicized it abroad. As a result, the Messrs. Morgan were most circumspect in the matter of allotment and barred all probable speculators from subscription. This, added to the threat to French credit represented by the low sale value of French treasury bonds in London, made the shares difficult to place, and thus the hope of future loans abroad faded. Even more important, the money itself did not come through fast enough to meet current needs, and only 188 millions were realized by February 23, 1871.<sup>44</sup>

As the military situation worsened, and the people became weary of hardship and disinterested in the war, as Gambetta talked more and more wildly, the financial situation steadily deteriorated. The end of December found Roussy, delegate of the ministry of finance, harassed and discouraged. In vain had he tried to limit government spending. As he himself expressed it:

Expenses are terrifying and increasing daily. . . . Receipts have fallen down to nothing. Indirect taxes which used to bring in more than 100 millions a month, yielded scarcely 30 millions last month. The loan undertaken in England is being used in England for the purchase of arms and munitions. The loan of 805 millions, due to the payments made in advance, the blockade of Paris, [and] the occupation of a large number of departments, yields hardly 10 to 12 millions a month when we need more than 200 to meet the expenses of the war; there remain only a few millions of the loan of 100 millions made by the Bank. . . . Our cash balance is almost nil, and in two or three days the treasury will run dry.<sup>45</sup>

It became clear that, short of issuing paper money, the only solution lay in a loan from the Bank of France. Since Cuvier remained adamant in his opposition, he was granted "sick leave,"<sup>46</sup> and was replaced by O'Quin, *trésorier-payeur général* of the Basses Pyrénées, and regent of the Bank of France (decree of January 4, 1871), who on January 4 made a treaty with the delegation pledging the bank to make all advances necessitated by the situation. On January 22, Picard regulated matters by ratifying all the loans granted by the delegation of the Bank of France in the provinces, and by granting an advance of four hundred million francs to the delegation at

<sup>43</sup> M. A. Dréo, *Gouvernement de la Défense nationale, 4 septembre 1870-16 février 1871; Procès-verbaux des séances du Conseil, publiés d'après les manuscrits originaux de M. A. Dréo, l'un des secrétaires du Gouvernement* (Paris, 1905), pp. 420 ff. (Dec. 18).

<sup>44</sup> Victor de Swarte, *Le Trésor public pendant la guerre de 1870-1871* (Paris, 1890), p. 29. Discouraged by the poor success of the Morgan loan, the delegation refused offers made by an American, Edgerton, to float a similar loan in New York. See *Procès-verbaux du conseil des finances*, pp. 55, 111, 113 ff., 172 (Nov. 8, Dec. 6 and 7, Jan. 18).

<sup>45</sup> Durieux, p. 244.

<sup>46</sup> Glais-Bizoin, p. 192, says that he was discharged, but since the government did not wish to alienate financiers, the discharge was announced in the *Journal officiel* as a vacation.

Bordeaux. Even here circumspect financial theory was observed. Instead of guaranteeing the loan by the proceeds of one of the state taxes, the guarantee offered was part of the *fonds d'État*, the woods and forests of the old imperial civil list. For the latter there was a happy precedent in 1848. The former method would have been a mistake for, as Pierre Magne, adviser to the delegation, pointed out: "All the taxes are the guarantee of the *Grand Livre*. To detach one tax is to create voluntarily the impression of a lack of good faith."<sup>47</sup>

So it was that the Bank of France, the conservative bulwark of the state, saved the fabric of French finances from complete disintegration. Perhaps the bank's directors were motivated by patriotism. Perhaps they desired to avoid nationalization by serving the state adequately in a private capacity.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps they so feared radical action on the part of Gambetta that they granted the loans merely to restrain him.<sup>49</sup> Whatever the bank's reasons, its action meant that the country was still financially solvent when the war came to an end on January 28.

Whereas in the provinces the economic problems of the delegation were primarily financial in character, those in Paris were primarily social. Paris was invested September 19; from that day on, the center of active resistance passed to the provinces. Mentally and physically cramped, the Parisian populace became prey to irritability. Whereas in the provinces the people became increasingly lethargic, and the government, under Gambetta, became more and more desperate and energetic, in Paris it was the people who grew restless and dissatisfied while the government took refuge in lack of action. The leaders of the Government of National Defense may have been popular on September 4, but this popularity was short-lived. The government soon found itself confronted by a group of revolutionaries as violent in their opposition as the republicans themselves had been to the empire a few months before.

Financially, there were few complaints or problems.<sup>50</sup> Government expenditures for salaries, military pay, purchase of food supplies, arrears on the public debt did not rise above five hundred million francs. To meet these

<sup>47</sup> Durieux, p. 267.

<sup>48</sup> Swarte wrote his book to prove that the bank's actions during the war were possible only because it was an independent institution.

<sup>49</sup> "Rapport de M. Boreau-Lajanadie," *Enquête*, I, 524: "It is sad to think that in this crisis our great financial institution [the bank] had to be protected, not from the Prussians, but from M. Gambetta."

<sup>50</sup> For Paris finances, see *Enquête*: "Rapport de M. Boreau-Lajanadie" (I, 513), "Déposition de M. de Roussy" (I, 528), "Déposition de M. Étienne Arago" (V, 243); Dréo; Renaud, *op. cit.*; Malarce, in *Le Correspondant*, May 10, 1874, p. 657; Albert Duchène, *Guerre et finances—dépenses et liquidation d'une guerre—1867-1873* (Paris, 1943), pp. 58-65.

expenses the government could call upon tax payments, which, in Paris, were easy to collect, any money brought in by the resale of foodstuffs purchased (a source netting the government ninety million francs), monthly payments on the Magne loan (a valuable resource, as the loan had been almost entirely subscribed at Paris), and of course the resources of the Bank of France. The latter lent it seventy-five millions on September 24, one hundred millions on December 5, and, by decree of January 3, put at the disposal of the minister of finance at Paris a fund of eighty-nine millions derived from the liquidation of funds for the endowment of the army. The wartime economies instituted by the empire were continued.

Thus financial needs were more than adequately met, and there was little need for radical measures. Imperial financial policy was retained with only the following changes: By a decree of September 5 the newspaper tax was lifted in the interests of freedom of speech, despite Ernest Picard's contention that the treasury needed the money thus accruing to it.<sup>51</sup> By another decree of September 17 a new tax was imposed on the property of those who had left Paris. In order to abolish the "last vestige of feudal rights," the fee customarily required of naturalized French citizens was no longer demanded.<sup>52</sup> Finally, the inegalitarian *octroi* was partially lifted, but only with difficulty.<sup>53</sup> The government at Paris took no other truly revolutionary measures. There was no confiscation of the property of high empire officials, as revival of the laws of confiscation was unthinkable. As for the goods of Napoleon III and Eugénie, the government, while willing to appropriate them, was nonetheless unable to do so. Apart from houses and furnishings, the emperor and empress had left little but debts.<sup>54</sup>

Social problems were far more serious, and unrest among the working classes alarmed the members of the government in Paris just as it had alarmed the delegation at Tours and Bordeaux. Anxious on the one hand to restrain the working classes and yet keep them content, anxious on the other to remain true to liberal doctrines, tortured by the conflict between economic principles and reality, the Government of National Defense in Paris was as guilty of hesitancy as was the delegation in the provinces.

The first problem of major importance to be faced was that of unemployment. As early as September 11, the situation became alarming, and Garnier-Pagès, veteran of 1848 and well aware of the dangers inherent in

<sup>51</sup> Dréo, p. 75 (Sept. 5).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248 (Oct. 24).

<sup>53</sup> Jean Jules Clamagérin, *Etudes politiques, économiques, et financières* (Paris, 1904), pp. 4 ff. Clamagérin was in charge of subsistence as Ferry's colleague at the Hôtel de Ville.

<sup>54</sup> "Rapport de M. le colonel Chaper," *Enquête*, I, 71, and Dréo, p. 213 (Oct. 24).



such conditions, recommended that aid be generalized and that a credit of three millions be opened to assist the unemployed.<sup>55</sup> This proved, however, to be only a temporary expedient, and more far-reaching measures appeared imperative after Paris was invested. Opposed on principle to a dole, as had been their colleagues in the provinces, the men in power evaded the issue by enrolling citizens in the National Guard and paying them for their services.<sup>56</sup> Those who for one reason or another (generally lack of a gun) were not connected with the National Guard, were mobilized into engineer battalions at the regular rate of pay. When the one franc fifty centimes this provided were found to be insufficient and leftist criticism increased, seventy-five centimes per day were allowed to the wives of National Guardsmen (decree of November 28).<sup>57</sup> Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs, later wrote that "without pay not only would no National Guard have been possible, but also we would have had . . . a formidable insurrection based on anger and hunger which in several weeks would have put an end to and dishonored the defense."<sup>58</sup> In other words, the pay to the National Guardsmen was really a dole. Condemning the dole in theory, the government had sacrificed principle in the interests of social order.

But even this disguised dole was insufficient to keep the lower classes content. At a time when two francs twenty-five centimes would hardly buy an egg, further relief measures were necessary. To keep the people fed, government-backed municipal canteens were opened where a meal could be bought for about fifty centimes, and bread bonds were given to the poor in the individual *arrondissements*. According to Vacherot, mayor of the tough fifth *arrondissement* (Panthéon), money was never lacking for such projects.<sup>59</sup> Alarmed by the threat from the proletariat, the government forgot the less vocal lower middle class which was all but wiped out financially during the siege. Millionaires and indigents ate well;<sup>60</sup> in between, the steadily rising scale of prices wiped out the savings of the small property owners and gradually turned them against the government.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Dréo, p. 103 (Sept. 11).

<sup>56</sup> "Déposition de M. le colonel Chaper," *Enquête*, V, 481; "Rapport de M. le comte Daru," *ibid.*, I, 234.

<sup>57</sup> Dréo, p. 359 (Nov. 28).

<sup>58</sup> Jules Favre, *Le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale* (Paris, 1871), I, 251.

<sup>59</sup> "Déposition de M. Vacherot," *Enquête*, V, 459 ff. For a detailed account of relief measures, see Ernest Gaillard, *Rapport sur les services de l'assistance municipale et des subsistances du III<sup>e</sup> arrondissement pendant le siège de Paris, 1870-1871* (Paris, 1871) (in the library of the ministry of finance); for a similar study of the eighth *arrondissement*, see M. E. Denormandie, *Le VIII<sup>e</sup> arrondissement et son administration pendant le siège de Paris* (Paris, 1875).

<sup>60</sup> Juliette Adam, *Mes illusions et nos souffrances pendant le siège de Paris* (Paris, 1906), p. 291. Many other contemporary writers commented on the same phenomenon.

<sup>61</sup> Suffering financially during the siege, and then threatened with bankruptcy when the National Assembly lifted the moratorium on private debts, this class gave unexpected support to the Commune of 1871.

Had there been no problem connected with food itself, the above measures might have been sufficient to reduce the menace of the extreme Left. However, the state of siege necessitated steps which were bound to arouse complaint in one quarter or another. The control of scarce commodities was the knottiest problem facing the government. Here again, the government was forced to desert its basic economic principles. But again these principles hindered the adoption of necessary and vigorous measures. Three solutions were attempted: control by price, control by requisition, control by rationing.

Realizing that to let food control itself by means of prices was too obviously unjust, the government set price ceilings on bread and meat,<sup>62</sup> only to find that an utterly uncontrollable black market, patronized by even the most patriotic, was soon flourishing. The ardent patriot, Juliette Adam, found nothing socially disturbing about eating a cow which had been kept out of the hands of the government by the irregular expedient of housing her in a living-room throughout the better part of the siege.<sup>63</sup> The rich could eat Castor or Pollux (the Zoo's pet elephants) at Noël Peter's restaurant with little social compunction. "It was a double pleasure, and a very French pleasure, to eat well while others ate badly."<sup>64</sup> Acts of charity and patriotism were numerous, but it was felt that what one did with one's money was a personal matter. So, despite the fact that prices were in some cases ten times normal,<sup>65</sup> fats, coffee, sugar (until January 20), coal, wood, and clothing were left uncontrolled.

Requisitioning was no more successful. The minister of commerce, Joseph Magnin, managed to requisition salt, wheat, and horse meat relatively successfully because they were distributed through wholesalers, but the effort to requisition potatoes (November 21) merely caused them to drop out of sight not to reappear until the order was revoked on January 16.<sup>66</sup> As a result, the government was discouraged, and when in January Magnin asked that sugar be requisitioned from the big refineries, his request was denied.<sup>67</sup> The free market, so important to liberal doctrine, seemed to have proved the best market.

However, it was clear that, if Paris were not to starve, some check must be kept on the two most important items in the Parisian diet—bread and meat. All other methods failing, rationing seemed the only solution. Meat

<sup>62</sup> Armand Husson, *Les consommations de Paris* (Paris, 1875), pp. 178 ff.

<sup>63</sup> Adam, p. 284.

<sup>64</sup> Henri d'Alméras, *La vie parisienne pendant le siège et sous la Commune* (Paris, 1927), p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> See table of prices in A. Morillon, *L'approvisionnement de Paris en temps de guerre* (Paris, 1888), pp. 197–201.

<sup>66</sup> Clamagèran, p. 19.

<sup>67</sup> Dréo, p. 524 (Jan. 13).

became scarce very early in the siege, and was rationed from September 26 on. There were occasional objections to the method of distribution, but the basic idea was accepted calmly.<sup>68</sup>

Bread, however, was a commodity with a psychological ingredient quite as important as its physical ones. The right to ask for more bread was sacred to Parisians; the Government of National Defense hesitated to risk the violence which might ensue if this right were limited. The men of the government justified this hesitation by claiming that rationing would defeat its own purpose, giving too much to some and too little to others, and hence would represent no real saving.<sup>69</sup>

But it was the principle that most worried the men of September 4. To interfere with economic liberty was to court disaster. The newspapers of the Left could cry for requisition and equal partition. The government preferred to believe that the people were invincibly opposed to such a curb on their freedom. Jules Ferry commented later that he had met strong resistance to rationing on the part of the people, and that the mayors at a meeting on December 11 had threatened to resign if rationing were instituted.<sup>70</sup> So, until the last possible moment, the government avoided the fatal step. It profited by the farsightedness of Duvernois, the last of the imperial ministers of commerce, who had purchased all the grain available and had stored it in government-owned and government-leased warehouses. Thus, until January 18, the government was able to apply a subtle form of rationing by limiting the amounts distributed to bakeries, and by mixing flour with oats, barley, bran, and even rice. When the final and definitive step was taken, it was only with many misgivings. Later Henri Martin, mayor of the sixteenth *arrondissement* (Passy-Auteuil), tried to defend the action:

We were obliged to subscribe to a kind of socialism; I would not like to say "communism." . . . We at the mayoralty put a finger on the butcher, and eventually on the baker. But we did separate principles from facts, and we did say that what we were going to do was worth nothing in principle, that the state of siege being an exceptional one, we were obliged to transgress economic principles.<sup>71</sup>

The government was amazed that no riots occurred and that the people accepted rationing with equanimity. Such hesitancy and futile attempts to

<sup>68</sup> See, for example, G. de Molinari, "L'Alimentation d'une grande ville assiégée," *Revue des deux mondes*, Jan. 1, 1871, pp. 117 ff.

<sup>69</sup> The *Enquête* depositions already cited and Dréo, *op. cit.*, contain much discussion of the rationing problem. See also Jules Simon, *Souvenirs du 4 septembre: le Gouvernement de la Défense nationale* (Paris, 1870), pp. 249 ff.

<sup>70</sup> "Déposition de M. Jules Ferry," *Enquête*, V, 193.

<sup>71</sup> "Déposition de M. Henri Martin," *ibid.*, V, 454.

enforce its laws characterized governmental administration throughout the siege.

The extreme Left felt that the new administration was rendering a fundamentally simple situation unduly complicated. Its members rose in protest three times, once on October 8, again on October 31, and once again on January 22. That of October 31 was by far the most serious uprising. It aimed to overthrow the conservatives, as the Montagnards had overthrown the Girondins in June, 1793, and thus to pave the way for victory.<sup>72</sup> As in the big provincial cities, the radicals felt that, as in 1793, certain economic measures and victory were closely bound together. Their program, if indeed it can be called that, was basically that of the separatists in the provinces. Based on the right of requisition, on the necessity for equality, it called for the requisition and rationing of all basic commodities, "as was done in '92,"<sup>73</sup> for the remission of rents, and for the confiscation of the property of all high functionaries of the empire.<sup>74</sup> Blanqui, one of the leading spokesmen, claimed that since the law of supply and demand had disappeared with the freedom of locomotion on which it depends, conditions should be equalized by law through rationing.<sup>75</sup> The billboards followed his lead and called upon Paris for "general requisitioning—gratuitous rationing."<sup>76</sup>

When the government acknowledged defeat in January, the radicals turned on the men of September 4 and alliterated *capitaliste* with *capitulard*. Thus, during the period of the "Government of National Defection," as Karl Marx called it,<sup>77</sup> the republican Left became more clearly aware of its social, political, and economic distinctiveness than it had been under the empire. In this respect the period was one of preparation for the Commune to follow. Had the war ended at Sedan, there would have been no March 18.

While the members of the Left became aware of the basic conflict between themselves and the men of September 4, "these political Jesuits, the most odious imposters who ever beguiled humanity," as Flourens called them,<sup>78</sup> the extreme Right, Monarchists and Bonapartists alike, simply found

<sup>72</sup> Georges Weill, *Histoire du mouvement social en France* (Paris, 1924), p. 138. Weill, failing to understand the fusion of economic with nationalist demands in the popular mind called it a "purely nationalist" uprising.

<sup>73</sup> *Le Combat*, Sept. 22, 1870. The economic measures of 1793 were quoted verbatim as the only logical program. See, for example, Jules Claretie on subsistence in *Le Rappel*, Oct. 12, 1870.

<sup>74</sup> *Le Combat*, Sept. 25. These demands were of course echoed in the numerous left-wing Paris clubs. See Gustave de Molinari, *Les clubs rouges* (Paris, 1871), and "Rapports de la préfecture de police," *Enquête*, VII, 141 ff. Also in the left-wing press, see *Le Reveil*, *Le Rappel*, *Le Siècle*.

<sup>75</sup> Blanqui, p. 87 (Sept. 28).

<sup>76</sup> The "affiche rouge" of January 6, quoted in Jules Claretie, *Histoire de la révolution de 1870-1871* (Paris, 1872), pp. 470 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Karl Marx, *La Commune de Paris* (Paris, 1901), p. 2.

<sup>78</sup> Flourens, introd., p. 2.

confirmation of their original convictions. Condemning the administration of the Government of National Defense in much the same way that the members of the latter had condemned the empire a few months before, they pointed to the inefficiency resulting from the placing of inexperienced men in positions of responsibility. They criticized wastage; they brought to the notice of the public every detail of certain scandalous munitions purchases.<sup>79</sup> They wrote tracts publicizing the misappropriations and extravagances of these republicans who had vaunted themselves as disinterested and frugal by nature, as advocates of an economical government.<sup>80</sup> They took a stand that they were to maintain throughout the first years of the Third Republic.

In conclusion one is left with the problem of time. The period was short, only four and a half months. Given more time, would policy have become more firm and direction more positive? One wonders, rather doubts it on the whole.

Certainly it is clear that from an economic point of view the Government of National Defense marks the beginning of the Third Republic; it is not the government of September 4, but rather the National Assembly and the government of Thiers which form the historical parenthesis. The men who formulated the financial policies of the Third Republic were the same men who directed and advised in an economic capacity under the Government of National Defense: Gambetta, Ferry, Magnin, Clamag ran, Magne, Denormandie, and others. The beliefs and fears which were formed and hardened in 1870-1871 persisted throughout the period which followed.

The outlines of the economic policy of the Third Republic were traced during the period of the Government of National Defense. The revolution carried through by the republican opposition to the empire on September 4 proved to be a conservative one. Administrative reality forced these "radicals" to continue empire policies with the help of empire functionaries. This conservatism was then further strengthened, first, by the threat presented by the revolutionary Left in 1870, and second, by the failure of economic controls, such as rationing, a failure which seemed to confirm the economic worth of orthodox liberalism, despite the fact that in retrospect it is quite obvious that liberal doctrine was, by its very definition, totally unadapted to a period of national emergency. During these months it became evident to the men who were to be the great politicians of the Third Republic that economic

<sup>79</sup> It will be recalled that the commission to investigate war purchases was headed by the rightist duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier.

<sup>80</sup> "Les comptes de 1870-1871," *Tracts* (Paris, 1874-75); "Les finances de la France sous le Gouvernement de la D fense nationale," *Biblioth que des conservateurs* (Paris, 1873); Gustave de Peyrode, *Les grandes crises financi res de la France* (Paris, 1876), pp. 286 ff.

liberalism was not, as they had thought, a radical doctrine but rather a conservative one, that it tended to divide rather than to fuse social classes. Hence the Third Republic from 1870 to 1914 was not only conservative but consciously so.

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\* \* \* *Notes and Suggestions* \* \* \*

## The German Independent Socialists during the First World War

LENORE O'BOYLE

DURING the First World War, the German Social Democratic party split into three groups: the Majority, the Independents, and the Spartacists. Distinguishing between Majority and Independents is difficult because there was no fundamental theoretical difference between them. The real split was between the Majority and the Independents on the one hand and the Spartacists on the other. The Spartacists were the nucleus of the future German Communist party, with all the Leninist views on the class character of the state and the consequent necessity of violent revolution. They believed that any state was no more than the tool of a ruling class, so that it could never be taken over by one class from another in a peaceful way, but must be smashed, and a new state created to serve new purposes. Both the Majority and the Independents were revisionist. They assumed that the state could be gradually transformed through democratic means. As the proletariat became more numerous, it could take over the state just as could any majority party. Revisionists talked about the revolution, but all they meant was that the proletarian majority might have to use force against a handful of counter-revolutionary capitalists who would refuse to accept the verdict of a majority vote.

By the nature of their beliefs the Socialists could be either more or less revisionist. On the question of the existing German state of 1914, the Majority and the Independents judged differently. The difference appeared in their actions rather than their words, since the two groups never even admitted their revisionism, much less argued about fine points of interpretation. But it was obvious from the way the Majority behaved that to them the existing state was already very much under the influence of the proletariat and consequently could be trusted. The Independents thought that the existing state was still strongly middle-class, and that the proletariat should be very much on their guard against it.

It was because the Majority thought as they did that they could support



the German government during the war. They stopped worrying about class conflict and identified themselves with the government and the nation. They behaved as a trade-union party in a capitalistic state, fighting for the usual democratic demands of parliamentary government, civil liberties, and favorable labor legislation, well aware of the advantages of being a well-organized minority in a democratic state. Actually the Majority wanted what we would call the welfare state and were not overly concerned with the key point in the orthodox Socialist program, the socialization of the means of production. Like a trade-union party, they assumed the permanence of the capitalist system, and this assumption was confirmed for them by the fact that capitalism, far from falling apart under the strain of war, seemed instead to be stronger than ever.

During the war, the Majority more and more sloughed off any interest in theory. They not only lost interest but said quite openly that they disliked theory and mistrusted their theoreticians. The reason for this, of course, was that the theorists kept talking in Marxist terms about the revolution and trying to fit everything the party did into the framework of class conflict and the end goal of Socialism. This talk embarrassed the Majority because it prevented them from co-operating as wholeheartedly as they wished with the capitalists. So the Majority spoke as if there were a conflict between theory and practical work, a conflict which is real if it is assumed that practical work is only that which gives the laborer a larger share in the goods of society but not if practical work is considered as whatever brings the revolution nearer. "Now is not the time for theoretical subtleties, but for practical work done in the vital interests of the German working class."<sup>1</sup>

The Majority emphasized practical work and party unity. Party unity was essential for practical gain, for in a democracy numbers count in the process of bargaining among different groups. "For the German and for the international proletariat, the disunity of German Social Democracy is a much greater misfortune than the most mistaken conclusion of a Social Democratic Section."<sup>2</sup> The Majority were horrified by the Independents leaving the party because that cut down the number of Socialist votes in the Reichstag and weakened the bargaining power of the trade unions, and they resented being told that the German state was a class state when they were interpreting the government's interference in economic life during war-

<sup>1</sup> Philip Scheidemann, *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Parteitag der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands abgehalten in Würzburg vom 14. bis 20. Oktober 1917* (Berlin, 1917), p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> H. Marckwald, "Die 'Überzeugung' als 'Allerheiligstes'?" *Die Neue Zeit*, XXXIV (1915-16), 261. (Future references to this periodical will be indicated by the initials N.Z.)

time as a victory for Socialism.<sup>3</sup> Actually the Majority advocated that the government take over certain big industries as state monopolies, since, if the state was the representative of both proletariat and middle class, it could be trusted to run economic life in the interests of the workers as well as the owners.<sup>4</sup>

The Independents, under Karl Kautsky and Hugo Haase, distrusted any existing state, and particularly the existing German state. "You talk of the state's necessities," said Haase, "but I know only the middle-class state, and I refuse to bow to its necessities."<sup>5</sup> To the Independents, the state in 1914 was still largely under the control of the bourgeoisie, and the war was giving the middle class even more of an opportunity to strengthen its hold. Men like Haase saw sharpening class antagonisms rather than greater national community. This being the case, they looked forward to a vigorous proletarian offensive against the bourgeoisie, and to a future revolution, even though by revolution they meant no more than a majority revolt against a Fascist coup.

This judgment necessitated tactics different from those of the Majority. The Independents had an end goal which the Majority did not. From the Independents' point of view reforms, while good in themselves because they strengthened the proletariat, were secondary to preparing for revolution, that is, for a decisive shift of power from bourgeoisie to proletariat. If reforms were made to seem all important, and thus distracted the proletariat from the necessity for revolution, they were an evil. If the middle class was becoming more aggressive, then it would make reforms that were more apparent than real, reforms aimed at making the worker think he was gaining whereas he was in fact losing. The Independents thought the Majority was being bought off with false concessions.

So the Independents put reforms, and the party unity necessary to win reforms, below the teaching function of the party. They believed that their main function was to expose the middle-class state to the proletariat. Consequently their main tactic was propaganda and teaching. Precisely for this reason the Independents did not break from the official party until 1916; they feared that without the party press and trade-union apparatus they would lose contact with the masses. Similarly Haase's high valuation of Reichstag activity did not stem from a belief that he could influence government policy by speeches but from a realization that the Reichstag was the

<sup>3</sup> Carl Legien, *Warum müssen die Gewerkschaftsfunktionäre sich mehr am inneren Parteileben beteiligen?* (Berlin, 1915), p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Wilhelm Jansson, ed., *Monopolfrage und Arbeiterklasse* (Berlin, 1917).

<sup>5</sup> *Protokoll über die Verhandlungen des Gründungs-Parteitage der U.S.P.D. von 6. bis 8. April 1917 in Gotha*, ed. by E. Eichhorn (Berlin, 1921), p. 12.

only place where he could speak freely in wartime.<sup>6</sup> Independents put their finger on the weakness of the Majority when they criticized it for being afraid of any disturbance that would change existing society since, with their bureaucratic party and trade-union structure, they had made themselves a part of that society.<sup>7</sup>

The Independents, for example, refused to vote war credits, not because they thought their refusal could stop the war but because it was a good propaganda move. They did not argue that the country should not be defended, since to them self-defense was not a political act; people defended themselves by a kind of reflex action regardless of whether their cause was good or bad. But Independents saw the vote of credits as an act of confidence in the government. The Majority argued that once war had come the Socialists must support whatever system was at hand, and that to refuse to support the government by voting credits would hurt the morale of Socialists in the army. The Independents argued that supplies would be voted in any event and that, since Socialists were excluded from any real share in the conduct of the class state, they were not responsible for the war and should make the fact clear. In other words, they should point out to the future revolutionaries that the state was middle-class, that the war was for strictly middle-class interests, and that the only reason the proletariat was fighting was to save itself from physical destruction.<sup>8</sup>

All during the war the Independents kept up the same line of attack. They saw the interference of the government in economic life as a device to enrich the middle class, pointing out that no industrialist was making any less money than before.<sup>9</sup> They interpreted the famous *Hilfsgesetz* not as a means to increase the co-operation of all classes in the interests of national defense but as a measure aimed at handing over the proletariat to the dictation of military authorities.<sup>10</sup> They refused to take seriously the government's repeated promises of democratic reforms and were furious with the Majority for believing dubious promises. "Today they say yes, and tomorrow

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Karl Kautsky, *Mein Verhältnis zur Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratischen Partei: Einer Rückblick* (Berlin, 1922).

<sup>7</sup> E.g., H. Stroebel, "Die Ursachen der sozialistischen Krise," *N.Z.*, XXXIV (1915-16), 253-61.

<sup>8</sup> G. Eckstein, "Probleme der Kriegspolitik," *N.Z.*, XXXIV (1916), 129-30; *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, CCCIX, 2369 (F. Ebert); E. David, "Kritisches zur Kautskys Kritik," *N.Z.*, XXXIII (1915), 531-33. (Future references to the Reichstag Debates will be indicated by the initials V.R.)

<sup>9</sup> E.g., K. Kautsky, "Neue sozialdemokratische Auffassungen vom Krieg," *N.Z.*, XXXV (1916-17), 321-34; K. Marchionini, "Der 'starke' Kapitalismus," *N.Z.*, XXXV (1916-17), 129-33.

<sup>10</sup> V.R., CCCVIII, 2290-94 (H. Haase). The *Vaterländische Hilfsgesetz* was a 1916 emergency measure aimed at the mobilization of all available labor forces in the service of war economy.

no, and the next morning they prove that their no is really yes . . . the credulous continue to believe."<sup>11</sup>

Foreign policy was the main cause of division. The Majority, having shifted their emphasis from class conflict to community with the rest of the nation, shared the general nationalism of the time. They made a great point of warning that the workers would be the first to feel any damage done to German business by a defeat. They joined with German industry in interpreting the war as an attempt by Entente industrialists to crush the German economy. ". . . we fight actually for our existence."<sup>12</sup> What would happen to the proletariat as an international class did not bother them too much. If the question arose, the Majority just assumed that since the German proletariat was the most advanced and best organized section of the International, it would be better for international Socialism if Germany won. And in good democratic fashion, they were horrified at the thought of losing political democracy in the event of a Russian victory.<sup>13</sup>

The Majority's nationalism was occasionally aggressive. On the whole the Majority's peace plans, as summed up in the Stockholm Memorandum of 1917, were unexceptionable, based on the slogans of national self-determination, no annexations and no indemnities.<sup>14</sup> But the Majority's idea of national self-determination worked out along convenient lines for Germany, since they argued that the only places where self-determination should apply were those regions directly affected by the war.<sup>15</sup> So that national self-determination could be applied in Russian Poland but not in Austrian or Prussian Poland.<sup>16</sup> In the case of Belgium, the Majority asked for the restoration of Belgium with the understanding that she be a vassal state of neither England nor Germany, and when they were asked how Belgium could be kept from being a vassal state if she wished, they evaded the question.<sup>17</sup> Alsace they would not even discuss, on the grounds that it had always been German territory and would remain so.<sup>18</sup>

Add to this a few tactless remarks made by men like Scheidemann, who assured the Reichstag that only a political child could imagine that all Europe might go up in flames and leave no single boundary stone, set by a long-dead

<sup>11</sup> Franz Mehring, *Kriegsartikel* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1918), p. 78.

<sup>12</sup> *V.R.*, CCCVII, 894 (P. Scheidemann).

<sup>13</sup> The best general statement of the Majority point of view on the war is Eduard David, *Die Sozialdemokratie im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1915).

<sup>14</sup> The Stockholm Memorandum is reprinted in P. Scheidemann, *The Making of New Germany: The Memoirs of Philip Scheidemann* (New York, 1929), II, 6-14.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Würzburg Protokoll*, pp. 355-56.

<sup>17</sup> K. Kautsky, "Belgien," *N.Z.*, XXXV (1917), 557.

<sup>18</sup> E. David, "Ein Nachwort," *N.Z.*, XXXIII (1915), 680.

diplomat, untouched, and it is clear enough why the Majority were accused of chauvinism.<sup>19</sup>

And throughout the Majority supported a government which at no time took a clear stand for a nonannexationist peace. Scheidemann, who was the chief Majority spokesman on foreign policy, had to close his eyes to a great deal. All Bethmann's breaks were excused by saying either that he had really meant something other than he seemed to mean, or that he was only trying to mollify the high command.<sup>20</sup>

The Independents, since they were revisionists, were also nationalists. That is, they never argued that the existing state was purely hostile and non-proletarian, and they agreed with the Majority that the Fatherland must be defended. But the Independents' nationalism was kept well in hand. Since they did not trust their government not to exploit a German victory, Independents tended to hope for a stalemate peace. Their peace plans were far more principled and uncompromising than the Majority's. They were willing to apply the principle of self-determination with no strings attached. If Alsace wanted to leave Germany, she should be allowed to go; and if self-determination was proper for Russian Poland, it would be proper for Prussian and Austrian Poland as well. The Independents were willing to restore Belgium with full freedom to conclude alliances. If she wished to be anyone's vassal state, she could be.<sup>21</sup>

Haase thought Germany was mainly responsible for the war. Kautsky and Hofrichter went to great pains to exonerate England from responsibility for starting the war as a move to crush Germany's trade.<sup>22</sup> The Independents refused to paint alarming pictures of what would happen to Germany if she lost—dismemberment, economic serfdom, and so on.<sup>23</sup>

Above all, they refused to support their own government until that government made its intentions indisputably clear. Haase pointed out time and again that it was foolish to trust a government that had never committed itself to a peace of understanding. "My colleague Scheidemann believes that no one, particularly not the government, wishes to annex anything. But has our Imperial Chancellor ever said that in this House?"<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> V.R., CCCVII, 890.

<sup>20</sup> Scheidemann, *Making of New Germany*, I, 239, 299-301; V.R., CCCVII, 889; V.R., CCCX, 3575-79.

<sup>21</sup> The Independents' peace program drawn up for the Stockholm Congress can be found in V.R., CCCX, 3590-92. Haase read it in the Reichstag to evade the censorship restrictions.

<sup>22</sup> K. Kautsky, "Wohin geht die Reise? Eine Entgegnung," N.Z., XXXIII (1915), 394-95; A. Hofrichter, "Der englische Handelskrieg," N.Z., XXXIII (1914-15), 647-59.

<sup>23</sup> K. Kautsky, "Eine Verteidigung der Zustimmung zu den Kriegskrediten," N.Z., XXXIII (1915), 315-16; K. Emil, "Handelspolitische Fragen," N.Z., XXXV (1916-17), 92-93.

<sup>24</sup> V.R., CCCVIII, 1731.

Bethmann's speech of December, 1915, in which he avoided specific peace proposals and spoke of pledges, was to Haase the first clear sign of the government's intentions. He called the speech "... indeterminate, general, ambiguous."<sup>25</sup> The 1916 peace note he thought bellicose in tone and too general in content.<sup>26</sup> Independents voted against the 1917 peace resolution; while Scheidemann avoided any mention of Michaelis' famous qualifying phrase "as I understand it," Haase pointed it out in his Reichstag speech. Haase objected to the demand that German boundaries should be secured "eternally," and he asked why there had been no mention of the principle of self-determination. He concluded that the resolution lacked "clarity and precision"; its demands were "weak and disguised."<sup>27</sup>

... the old game is being continued, the fight over exactly what it is that the Imperial Chancellor thinks. In the Reichstag sitting, Scheidemann's behavior was contemptible, as if it were perfectly clear that the ... Chancellor agreed with their present conception. If their policy has made them stupid, still they must see that Michaelis is only Ludendorff's mouthpiece. With them it is no longer a matter of self-deception, but a serious deception of the worker.<sup>28</sup>

The Independents were the only German party to vote against the Brest-Litovsk treaty. The Majority abstained, even though they recognized the treaty as a clear violation of their professed principles. The Independents voted no; "... my party has but one feeling, that of shame ... that a peace of the sword has been ruthlessly forced upon a neighboring people."<sup>29</sup> It is not surprising that Haase's last political act before his assassination in 1918 was to call upon the German people to recognize their responsibility for the war and to accept the Versailles treaty in good faith.

The Majority gained power in 1918 and were the chief party in the early years of the Republic. Their weaknesses—nationalism, excessive respect for authority, too great a reliance on the process of parliamentary bargaining—were already clear by 1918, and are directly connected with the Republic's failure. The Independents, in contrast, made almost no impression on German political life. A few years after the war, the party split, some going to the Communists and some returning to the official party. It is not hard to see why. The Independents were a moderate party in a time of crisis, and they lost out to parties who were willing to offer extreme solutions. The

<sup>25</sup> V.R., CCCVI, 438.

<sup>26</sup> V.R., CCCIX, 2894.

<sup>27</sup> V.R., CCCX, 3588.

<sup>28</sup> Hugo Haase, *Sein Leben und Wirken: Mit einer Auswahl von Briefen, Reden und Aufsätzen*, ed. by E. Haase (Berlin, n.d.), p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> V.R., CCCXI, 4540.

Independents were less nationalistic than the Majority in appealing to a very nationalistic people, and they were not as revolutionary as the Communists at a time when revolution seemed feasible and correct to many of the politically disillusioned. They offered no clear-cut line of political conduct, no immediate rewards or salvation of any sort. In one sense, they were the last of the nineteenth century liberal parties, the extreme left wing of the democratic movement, believing in parliamentary government and civil liberties without exception, and aware of the fundamental incompatibility of liberalism and extreme nationalism, liberalism and minority revolution. Only the Independents escaped completely the authoritarian and nationalistic tradition that affected every other German party. All the evidence indicates that they would have destroyed the old army and the old governing class. They represented, in short, the one type of political thinking that might have made the Weimar Republic work, and their failure to win support raises the question of whether the Republic meant anything more than an accident in Germany's political history.

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## Some Writings of Thomas Paine in Pennsylvania Newspapers

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IN 1945 appeared *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine*, edited by Philip S. Foner. This work was designed "to include all of Paine's writings available at present." It contains much material not found in previous collections of Paine's works but does not include several writings in contemporary Pennsylvania newspapers which now need to be added to the Paine canon. These comprise two papers in the *Crisis* series, three letters on the Bank of North America, and an explanation in an advertisement of Paine's publishing arrangements for *Common Sense*. These items have not previously appeared in Paine's collected works or been noticed by Paine scholars.

Most important historically are the two additional numbers of the *Crisis* series, each of which may be called with others already collected a "Crisis Extraordinary" or a "Supernumerary Crisis." Paine himself used this device of classifying three other extra papers in order not to swell the number of the *Crisis* series beyond thirteen, the number of the colonies. Both of the newly discovered papers are addressed "To the People of America" and signed "Common Sense." The first is dated June 10, 1778, and appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1778. It served to bridge the hiatus between *Crisis* No. 5, which was dated March 21, 1778, and *Crisis* No. 6, which was ready for the press when Paine's letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* appeared but which was "delayed in order to take in a larger compass of affairs than was at first intended." Actually *Crisis* No. 6 did not appear until October 20, 1778.

Midway between *Crisis* No. 5 and *Crisis* No. 6, the letter of June 10 discusses the interim between the occupation of Philadelphia and the arrival of the commissioners for peace. In spite of being about one sixth the length of *Crisis* No. 5, the letter has more specific information and a shrewder analysis of the state of affairs than its predecessor. The latter is a forensic piece designed for the arena of rhetoric. In an optimistic tone, Paine demonstrates that the loss of Philadelphia is more of an advantage than otherwise. His style shows signs of careful planning and polishing. The subsequent letter, however, has less art and more fact. Paine's tone is less ebullient as

he warns against overconfidence with the return of spring. As though to compensate for the dampening effect of his spirit of caution, he heaps abuse on English leaders and politicians. This was no novelty since in *Crisis* No. 5 Paine had effectively abused Howe by the methods of literary satire—carefully worked out irony, ingenious parallels, ludicrous allusions, and sardonic euphemisms. The odium of June 10, however, is unpremeditated and consists of rapid, sharp stabs. The importance of the letter consists not in its rhetorical powers but in its analysis of events. Paine finds only three possible courses.

First. A war with France [by England].

Secondly. An acknowledgment of our independence on the part of Britain, by which such a war may be *creditably* avoided. And,

Thirdly. Her submission to every indignity which France has or may show, by which submission a war may be *meanly* avoided.

Paine's predictions proved accurate since *Crisis* No. 6 was written when the English peace commissioners had arrived and were appealing to the Americans over the head of Congress to lay down their arms and to fight for the king against France. Paine denounced the double-dealing of the commissioners and taunted the British for burning houses in Rhode Island while they were pretending to negotiate.

The second newly discovered letter in this series appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 1782, between *Crisis* No. 10, March 5, 1782, and *Crisis* No. 11, May, 1782. It is introduced with a quotation of the first paragraph of *Crisis* No. 9. The subject of the letter is taxation and national defense. The foundation is laid in "The Crisis Extraordinary" of October 4, 1780, which gives particular details of taxation, and in *Crisis* No. 10, which is in part devoted to "the expenses, arrangements and disbursements for carrying on the war." In the April letter, finance is considered the fundamental problem. Paine attempts not only to inspire general willingness to pay increased taxes but to convince his readers that system and method in finance are needed as well as patriotism.<sup>1</sup> In answer to the vested interests and the ultra conservatives, Paine expounds the principle that "Government and the people do not in America constitute distinct bodies." Using a forensic style, he appeals variously to self-interest, patriotism, and honor to meet the nation's financial needs. Then he presents a brief, concise statement of what these needs are and the policy of taxation necessary to meet them.

Paine's first printed work with a purely personal emphasis is also absent from Foner's edition. This is a letter in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, April

<sup>1</sup> For the historical background, see Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1945), II, 383, 1230.

30, 1776, inspired by the controversy between Paine (under the pseudonym of *The Forester*) and Rev. William Smith (under the pseudonym of *Cato*). Soon after the publication of *Common Sense* a number of Tories and conservatives attempted to counteract its republican doctrines. The most vociferous and literary of these was Smith, an Anglican clergyman who published a serial attack on *Common Sense* beginning in April, 1776, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. Paine replied with four *Forester* letters in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, April 3, 10, 24, and May 8, 1776.<sup>2</sup> Near the end of this series Paine wrote the letter to the *Pennsylvania Post*, April 30, 1776, defending his character against the aspersions of Smith. He sets forth his antecedents in detail, particularly emphasizing his being introduced to Pennsylvania by Dr. Franklin, and challenges *Cato* to declare his own antecedents.<sup>3</sup>

Only recently Harry Hayden Clark discovered a series of letters by Paine on the Bank of North America. These have been reprinted by Foner.<sup>4</sup> Three other letters on this subject, however, are to be added to Clark's list. The first, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 21, 1785, was drawn out by a number of publications in newspapers and pamphlets which had been attributed to Paine. Above his own name, Paine wrote to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* asserting that he had never previously published anything on the subject of the charter of the bank. In order to declare his private opinion, however, he added a long letter on the bank which he had written to Thomas Fitzsimmons on April 19, 1785. Eight other letters by Paine on the subject of the bank appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from March 29, 1786, to March 7, 1787. The first five, which appeared originally in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, are reprinted by Foner. He also reprints the eighth letter (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 7, 1787) but does not mention the sixth and seventh, which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on September 20, and November 8, 1786.

These omitted letters discuss problems ancillary to the bank; the letter of September 20, the disadvantages of a unicameral legislature, and the letter of November 8, the dangers of paper money. The second letter is specifically concerned with financial matters and is closely connected with the letters on the bank already published and with Paine's *Dissertations on Government: The Affairs of the Bank; and Paper Money* (1786). I have discussed this letter in another publication.<sup>5</sup> The letter of September 20 is primarily

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 60-87.

<sup>3</sup> This letter is described by Frank Smith in *Thomas Paine, Liberator* (New York, 1938), p. 32, but Smith does not say in which newspaper it appeared.

<sup>4</sup> *Thomas Paine, Representative Selections* (New York, 1944), p. lxxiv; Foner, ed., *Writings*, II, 414-39.

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIII (September, 1949), 309-15.

political, is not necessarily connected with the bank, and helps explain an important passage in *The Rights of Man*. For this reason, a brief treatment of this letter is appropriate. Paine himself gave it the title "On the Affairs of State." He discusses in it the weaknesses of a unicameral system because the action of the Pennsylvania assembly in revoking the charter of the bank seemed to him a proof that a single legislature in the hands of whatever party it may fall "is capable of being made a compleat aristocracy for the time it exists." When the majority is ruled by party prejudice, he observes, "a single legislature, on account of the superabundance of its power, and the untroubled rapidity of its execution, becomes as dangerous to the principles of liberty as that of a despotic monarchy." According to Paine's interpretation, it was thought at the beginning of the Revolution that the executive branch of government was the only dangerous part, but, at the time he wrote, it was realized that the legislative might be as arbitrary and mischievous. The Constitution took care to prevent the executive council from being subject "to inconsistent and contradictory conduct, and sudden convulsions" by providing that the periods of their elections shall not all expire at once. The same safeguard was needed for the legislature and would have been provided "could the convention have foreseen the capricious and inconsistent conduct of assemblies." When the legislature is entrusted to a single body of men, that body all expiring at once, the state is subject to "perpetual convulsions of imperfect measures and rash proceedings," for it may happen, as already has happened in the attack on the bank, "that a number of men, suddenly collected, unexperienced in business, and unacquainted with the grounds, reasons and principles, which former assemblies proceeded on in passing certain acts, and without seeking to inform themselves thereof, may precipitate the state into disorder by a confused medley of doing and undoing, and make the grievances they pretend to remove." Paine concludes his paper with the remark that "so long as it shall be the choice of the people to continue the legislature in a single house, the circumstances of the country and the importance of the trust (being greater than that committed to any single body of men in any state in the union) evidently require, that the persons to be elected thereto be men freed from the bigotry and shackles of party, of liberal minds, and conversant in the means of increasing the riches of the state, and cultivating and extending the prosperity thereof." In this letter Paine does not specifically advocate bicameralism, but he threatens to.

Paine mentions the problem of a unicameral or a bicameral legislature in the next year, 1778, in *A Serious Address to the People of Pennsylvania on the Present Situation of Their Affairs*. He promises to take up in detail

the subject of the "proposed addition of a second Legislative House," but he either never finished the series or his remarks still remain undiscovered.<sup>6</sup> We may assume, however, that, very much under the influence of Franklin as he was, he would have been a strong advocate of unicameralism. In his *Dissertations on Government* (February, 1786), Paine speaks of his "idea of a single legislature."<sup>7</sup> By September, however, as we have seen, he had modified his views, and, in the second part of *The Rights of Man* (1792), he presents his unique proposal to remove the disadvantages of both the unicameral system, that it acts too hastily, and the bicameral system, that the two houses counteract each other and that one is no wiser than the other. He proposes to have one representation divided by lot into two or three parts, to have every bill debated in succession in each part, to have each part hearer of the others, and to have a vote taken only after a general assembly and general debate.<sup>8</sup> In 1805, Paine offered a variation of this proposal for application to Pennsylvania.<sup>9</sup>

A hitherto unnoticed letter concerning Paine's reputation in France as an engineer appeared in the *Federal Gazette*, February 9, 1789. Paine had written the letter from Paris on May 4, 1788, announcing the success of his bridge and suggesting its suitability for the Schuylkill. He enclosed a long, favorable report from the Royal Academy of Sciences (Paris, August 29, 1787) on the bridge.

Also in the *Federal Gazette* (February 19, 1793) appeared a long defense of the French Revolution in the form of an extract of a letter from a "Gentleman now in France to his correspondent in this city." The letter is undoubtedly by a Philadelphian since the author speaks of a past conversation in Philadelphia with his friend. He says that his friend has acquired faulty ideas of the French Revolution from the press and as an antidote accords it wholesale praise. I do not know of another Philadelphian besides Paine who was in France in 1793 and who would speak as enthusiastically of the French Revolution as the author of this letter does.

The final writing from the Pennsylvania press which I wish to introduce concerns the publication of *Common Sense*. It is a paragraph of great bibliographical as well as biographical interest. Until January 25, 1776, *Common Sense* had been regularly advertised by the printer Robert Bell as a work containing the following parts:

I. Of the origin and design of government in general, with concise remarks on the English constitution.

<sup>6</sup> Foner, ed., *Writings*, II, 292.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 409.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 390.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 1001.

- II. Of monarchy and hereditary succession.
- III. Thoughts on the present state of American affairs.
- IV. Of the present ability of America, with some miscellaneous reflections.

In the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of January 25, 1776, the same issue with Bell's standard advertisement, appeared an advertisement by W. & T. Bradford, announcing a new edition of *Common Sense* "with large and interesting additions by the author . . . among which will be a seasonable and friendly admonition to the people called Quakers." A notice to the public explained why the new edition was called for and why Bradford, not Bell, was to publish it.

The great encouragement and reception which this pamphlet hath already met with, and the great demand for the same, hath induced the publisher of the first edition to print a new edition unknown to the author, who expressly directed him not to proceed therein without orders, because that large additions would be made thereto; wherefore the new edition, lately advertised by the printer of the first, is without the intended additions.

On January 27, 1776, Bell ran an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* attacking both Paine and Bradford and ingenuously accusing them of "dishonest malevolence." He also continued his efforts to sell his own second edition.

In the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of January 30, 1776, Bradford repeated his advertisement of January 25, with the following significant addition.

The author, for the sake of relieving the anxiety of his friends, maketh the following declaration— That he first intended the above work to have been printed in a series of letters in the news-papers, but was dissuaded therefrom, on account of the impossibility of getting them generally inserted— That he knew nothing of Robert Bell, who was engaged to print it by a gentleman of the city [Benjamin Rush?], and who can but be concerned for the unpleasant situation in which he hath, though from a well meaning motive, involved his friend— That he hath neither directly, nor indirectly, received, or is to receive, any profit or advantage whatsoever from the edition printed by Robert Bell— That over and above the expence of printing, which was to be paid whether the work sold or not, he gave to this noisy man one half of the profits thereof, amounting to upwards of thirty pounds, as a present for the trouble he might be at, as the author did not intend to take on any himself, or mean to be known; and that, when the news of our repulse at Quebec arrived in this city, he gave the other half, with an order for the payment thereof, together with said Bell's written promise for the same, into the hands of two gentlemen (whose names are left at the bar of the London Coffee-house, and who will authenticate the assertions contained herein) for the purpose of purchasing mittens for the troops ordered on that cold campaign.

The said gentlemen have not yet been able to settle with Robert Bell according to the conditions of his written engagement. The account which he hath delivered

in not appearing to them equitable; and which, if he do not perform within the course of this week, he will be sued for the same, &c. This is all the notice that will ever be taken of him in future.

On February 1, 1776, the whole back page of the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* was taken up by Bell's counterattack. The above declaration by Paine, whether written entirely by him or in conjunction with Bradford, is of great bibliographical interest. It explains why there were two "second" editions of *Common Sense* and why Bell's edition continued to appear after Bradford's new edition.<sup>10</sup> This material has not been used by bibliographers. Moncure D. Conway only hints at it in his *Life of Thomas Paine*,<sup>11</sup> and I do not know of any writer who discusses it at greater length. It is generally known, however, that Bell later brought out his own expanded edition of *Common Sense*, which contained a number of additions not by Paine at all.

*University of Maryland*

<sup>10</sup> Paine's financial arrangements with Bell are treated in a letter to Henry Laurens, Jan. 14, 1799. *Ibid.*, II, 1160-65.

<sup>11</sup> (New York, 1892), I, 181.



\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

### General History

DIE ENTSCHIEDUNG DES ABENDLANDES. By *Rudolf Rocker*. In two volumes. (Hamburg: Verlag Friedrich Oetinger. 1949. Pp. 341; 349-799.)

A FIRST edition of this book appeared under the title *Nationalism and Culture* (New York, 1937). It was preceded by a Spanish edition and followed by four other translations. It seems to be sponsored by a "non-profit organization" in this country, the "Rocker Publications Committee." It is clearly animated by a sectarian spirit of devotion which is easy to define as an idealistic anarchism. No wonder the German original, which, as the foreword states, was completed in 1936, could not be published under the Nazi regime. It contains a formidable attack upon totalitarianism and upon any form of state-dominated society. It took thirteen years until the original was laid before the public. All too many of its somber implications have meanwhile come true, and an epilogue (1946) tries to impress the reader with the fact that what the book preaches is no longer a utopia.

Rocker's magnum opus hence should be regarded and can be done justice to only if regarded as a profession of faith. Its basic belief is in the natural goodness of man which, however, in almost all of recorded history has been diverted from the goal of a free society and of voluntary mutualism by the wickedness of priests and rulers, by dominant minorities, or by collective forces such as a monopolistic capitalism tied in with the nationalist fetish. There are only a few happy interludes, with the thoroughly decentralized Greek culture and the early medieval communalism being the outstanding examples. This conceptual framework, of course, has little that is original. Although the author would strictly deny any national coloring of his political philosophy, he is certainly indebted to German corporative thought (cf. his comment on Franz von Baader, pp. 296 f.) as well as to the Jeffersonian ideal of "as little government as possible." The main ancestors, however, are Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, who among many others are profusely quoted. But within this frame of reference an enormous learning and a stimulating or at least very challenging analysis are displayed. They revolve around two main theses. The first is that of a basic antithesis between culture and state or religion, the latter terms being in fact equivalent. Hereditary sin is at the basis of any justification for a centralizing power, it is the founding idea of any theory of the state (p. 61), and Hobbes consequently was a "strictly religious man" (p. 174). The second thesis moves along the same line in criticizing the nation concept not only as "ersatz" religion but as a deliberately political and culturally reactionary creation of and by the state.

It would be beside the point to take issue with a presentation of world history because of its underlying beliefs. It is professedly written in black and white.

The element of power without which neither the Greek city-state nor an early medieval community could have existed is largely discarded. Whole phases of cultural development, such as the Hellenistic and the Roman, cannot be other than sterile by definition. Obvious misstatements and misinterpretations are not infrequent. Cato's, the "abominable hypocrite's and cool-hearted usurer's," words "*victrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni*" are rendered in a fashion which suggests that it was the "business" of the conquered that gave satisfaction to Cato (p. 547). Nor would one expect scholastic philosophy or any genuine religiosity or the Reformation to be dealt with in a fair manner. This is a combative book, but it is not one of rattling bones nor a mere rehash of enlightened misconceptions about dark ages or the great impostors. Rather will the reader be rewarded by a wealth of information not easily accessible, and a sharply focused insight into cultural dynamics, which too often has been obscured by conventional theories of progress or of an organic or any other sort of determinism. Characteristic in this respect is Rocker's treatment of the Renaissance, which is so likely to appeal to an anarchism of the aristocratic or Nietzschean type. In contrast, emphasis is laid upon the uprising of man against a society attuned to the principle of solidarity, and the cultural revival is more than overshadowed by the loss of essential human qualities, by the concentration of economic and political power, and by the incipient national divisions. This cardinal sin gradually becomes the leading theme of the book and is followed up through a vast area of anthropology and sociology, of history and metaphysics. The bulk of the two volumes deals with topics such as the glorification of state and nation in German philosophy as well as in romantic, democratic, and socialist thought; with the "illusion" of the concept of national culture, national philosophy, national science; and with the underlying fallacies of folklore, linguistic, and racial theories. Again one may say that this attack is not exactly original and sometimes appears to be fighting against windmills which are out of commission anyway. But within the literature critical of nationalism the book will undoubtedly hold an important place. It contains empirical material and interpretative flashes of great interest. Yet its distinctive mark is the incorporation of a vast amount of illustration into an overriding philosophy.

The real issue therefore is not the often forceful way in which this incorporation is effected but the inner consistency and cogency of a historical framework within which almost all occurrences, and specifically the more recent ones, seem to defy rather pathetically the assumed goal. This is the innermost dilemma of the book. As an emphatic anti-Marxist the author cannot solve it by a dialectic device with the highest accumulation of power reversing into complete freedom. Almost on the same page (pp. 466 ff.) he speaks in poetic words of the circular movement of all culture being parallel to that of nature, and of the hope that once humanity has become aware of its inner desires and of the real motives of action the new society will materialize free of exploitation and slavery. Or, as the last words of the book express this hope in a quotation from Quinet "never

as true as today": The peoples will not ascend before the depth of their fall has been fully realized. It seems—just as with Toynbee—the inevitable fate of an antideterminist teleology that it ends with a somersault.

*University of Chicago*

HANS ROTHFELS

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN SCIENCE, 1300-1800. By *Herbert Butterfield*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (London: G. Bell and Sons; New York: Macmillan Company. 1949, 1950. Pp. x, 217. \$2.50.)

THIS volume consists of twelve chapters, each originally prepared and delivered as a lecture at the University of Cambridge in 1948. The book suffers, then, from some of the faults usually evident when a series of oral exercises are captured and imprisoned between the covers of a book. Individually and collectively, however, these lectures are so thought-provoking that the historian of modern times, whether concerned with political or with intellectual history, will find them brilliantly suggestive.

In his introduction, the author offers some observations useful both to the historian of science and to the general historian. The history of science, he points out, is not yet "genuine history," as "it is still at an inferior degree of organization, like the work of the annalist and the chronicler—if we remain content with a merely biographical mode of treatment, and particularly if we construct our story of science by drawing lines straight from one great figure to another" (p. ix). Further, it is important to the understanding of the growth of science "to learn something of the misfires and the mistaken hypotheses of early scientists, to examine the particular intellectual hurdles that seemed insurmountable at given periods, and even to pursue courses of scientific development which ran into a blind alley, but which still had their effect on the progress of science in general." When these things have been done, the author believes that the history of science will become "the bridge which has been so long needed between the Arts and the Sciences" (p. vii); and he maintains that the "scientific revolution" of early modern times, because it "overturned the authority in science not only of the middle ages but of the ancient world," outshines "everything since the rise of Christianity and reduces the Renaissance and Reformation to the rank of mere episodes, mere internal displacements, within the system of medieval Christendom" (p. viii). In consequence, the author supplies new evidence in support of the comparatively recent contention that the seventeenth century witnessed the birth of modern society.

The twelve chapters are concerned principally with aspects of the "scientific revolution" and its effects upon the *philosophie* movement of the eighteenth century. The author succeeds, on the whole, in following the rules set forth in his introduction and in probing deeply into historical processes in order to display the interconnection of events. There are instances of unevenness, however, and

even lapses from the rules. A number of the lectures are stimulating in their fresh interpretative qualities, especially "The Historical Importance of a Theory of Impetus" (chap. i), "The Experimental Method in the Seventeenth Century" (chap. v), "The History of the Modern Theory of Gravitation" (chap. viii), "The Place of the Scientific Revolution in the History of Western Civilisation" (chap. x), and "Ideas of Progress and Ideas of Evolution" (chap. xii). But a few of the lectures appear less vital and, indeed, little more than warmed-over portions of well-known works. Such, in the opinion of this reviewer, are chapter ii, "The Conservatism of Copernicus," chapter iii, "The Study of the Heart down to William Harvey," and chapter iv, "The Downfall of Aristotle and Ptolemy." Again, in chapter xi, "The Postponed Scientific Revolution in Chemistry," the author seems to fall into the rut which he had warned against, namely, "biographical modes of treatment" and "drawing lines straight from one great figure to another." Further, in treating "The Transition to the *Philosophie* Movement in the Reign of Louis XIV" (chap. ix), the author assigns an importance to Fontenelle which, although well justified by the limits of an oral discourse, tends to ignore other important agencies of transmission both within and outside of France. And finally, the volume as a whole is concerned with developments in the physical sciences almost to the total exclusion of the natural sciences—and this in spite of the enormous interest in natural history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Still, we need to remember that the author did not set out to write a full-dress history of science, or even of the "scientific revolution," and that some of the shortcomings are unavoidable in essays prepared for oral presentation and published without revision or annotation. Within the limits of these twelve lectures, the author has presented much that is fresh and important, both with regard to his approach to the history of science and with regard to his interpretations in the intellectual history of early modern times.

*University of Illinois*

RAYMOND P. STEARNS

SEA ROAD TO THE INDIES: AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES AND EXPLOITS OF THE PORTUGUESE NAVIGATORS, TOGETHER WITH THE LIFE AND TIMES OF DOM VASCO DA GAMA, CAPITÃO-MÓR, VICEROY OF INDIA, AND COUNT OF VIDIGUEIRA. By *Henry H. Hart*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 296. \$4.50.)

Vasco da Gama is known for having blazed the all-water route to India (1497–1499) and for the navigational feat that his voyage represents, but he is also important in the history of the expansion of Europe because his arrival on the Malabar Coast marks the beginning of Europe's hegemony in the East. The implications of Vasco da Gama's achievement are of course very great, and any

study on the man must necessarily have an appeal beyond the circle of students interested in the Age of Discovery.

Mr. Hart's book appears at a time when a need exists for the re-examination of Europe's contribution to the concept of the wider world, and it was probably designed to do for us what Elaine Sanceau's book on the same subject did for the English. The present book is well written, has a number of fine chapters, and will add considerably to the knowledge of the average reader, but its tone, unfortunately, is harsh, and it is filled with questionable and even erroneous statements on Portuguese history.

Mr. Hart has used for the most part only the dark colors of the Liberal anti-imperialist school, and the picture that emerges from his pages is not pretty. To him Vasco da Gama is a cruel, intolerant, unscrupulous, highhanded, and ruthless man whose bungling laid the foundations for the mistrust which Africans and Orientals have assertedly since entertained for the Portuguese. It was, Mr. Hart believes, actions such as those attributed to the navigator, plus the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, and Negro slavery that brought about the decadence of Portugal. And one gathers that Portugal would not have tumbled so soon from her high estate if she had been less fanatical and greedy.

There is truth in much of what Mr. Hart says, but often his perspective is wrong and ordinarily he pays no attention to mitigating circumstances. There is no place in Mr. Hart's narrative for the good that the Portuguese achieved and the ideals that animated many of their actions. He condemns, often gratuitously, Portuguese colonial policy in Africa and the Orient, but his condemnation can hardly be justified on the basis of Gama's experience. His horror of the Inquisition and his righteous indignation at this form of coercion may perhaps be excused, but we cannot excuse his use of faulty information in some of his references to it. He gives no evidence to sustain his opinion on the Jews. As regards the social evils of slavery, we agree with Mr. Hart (without however making of slavery as such a moral issue), but Negro slavery was not a particularly Portuguese perversion. As regards the mixture of races, which Mr. Hart thinks contributed to the decadence of Portugal, his statements are uncorroborated.

The decadence of Portugal is one of Mr. Hart's refrains, but again his remarks in this connection are by no means fully substantiated. It may be, as the author says, that the Portuguese rotted in their own iniquities, but it was hardly this rottenness that explains the loss of a large part of their empire. Mr. Hart suggests that the shrinking of the old Portuguese Empire was the result of native peoples throwing off a heavy yoke. Actually Brazil was lost to other Portuguese, i.e., Brazilians, Ceuta to Spain, Rhodesia to England, Ceylon and the East Indies to the Dutch. The North African fortresses were voluntarily abandoned during the time of the marquis of Pombal. Tangiers and Bombay went to England as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. Moreover, most of these territories were given up in the seventeenth century at a time when Portugal was obliged to fight Spain and Holland. The Spaniards were eventually defeated (though Ceuta

remained in their hands), the Dutch were repulsed from Macao, driven out of Angola, and, after an occupation that lasted a generation, out of Brazil as well. When finally most of the Eastern spheres of influence were lost, thanks largely to fellow Europeans, the Portuguese began their most brilliant period of expansion in South America.

Mr. Hart gives the background of Gama's voyage in considerable detail. The story ends with the death of the viceroy of India and there is a postscript on Gama's descendants. The footnotes are awkwardly handled. There is a long bibliography. There are evidences of unfamiliarity with Portuguese orthography and ecclesiastical terminology. The book withal makes interesting and at times even exciting reading, and the average reader, for whom it was written, if he bears in mind the reservations that have been made, will not find the experience unrewarding.

*Catholic University of America*

MANOEL CARDOZO

THE SCHOLAR ADVENTURERS. By *Richard D. Altick*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1950. Pp. viii, 338. \$5.00.)

THIS book is good bedtime reading. It has several of the characteristics of a well-written detective story. Mr. Altick supplies suspense wherever his subject allows it; his characters include brilliant (and occasionally odd) unravelers of riddles as well as some crafty villains; and his style is brisk.

Actually, *The Scholar Adventurers* is a series of accounts of unusually interesting historical research. Though it deals mainly with research in English literature and with professors of English, it has considerable relevance for the historian. The author does not go into the fields of esthetics, literary criticism, or explication of text. Instead he writes about the kinds of things which historians are more concerned with and which, when carried over into literary studies, make up the historical approach to literature.

Mr. Altick opens with a tribute to "The Unsung Scholar"—who could just as well be the unsung historian. Then he has a chapter on the richest literary find of our century, the James Boswell papers, and another on T. J. Wise, the fabulous forger of the Victorian period. Wise's specialty was printing and selling faked first editions; Mr. Altick summarizes the story of how he was unmasked by two shrewd young men, one the son of A. F. Pollard, the well-known historian. A chapter follows on the way the Sir Thomas Malory who wrote the *Morte Darthur* was ultimately identified with the Sir Thomas Malory who found it impossible to stay out of jail. Other stories that Mr. Altick retells include the discovery that Wordsworth had an illegitimate French daughter, the bowdlerizing of Hawthorne's personal manuscripts by his widow ("bellies," for instance, became "bodies"), and the unearthing of the coroner's report on the murder of Christopher Marlowe. The author also sketches some cases where modern science has come to the aid of scholars. For example, astronomy has helped to fix the date of composi-

tion of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. A mechanical collator is helping to establish the definitive text for Shakespeare's plays. Infrared light is making previously illegible manuscripts readable again. Elsewhere Mr. Altick mentions with regret certain cases beyond the help of science; they are the disappearance, through fire, flood, or neglect, of manuscripts which might have been among our greatest potential sources of knowledge about the past. Toward the end of his book, the author brings together the post-mortems on such famous ills as Jonathan Swift's Menière's disease and Samuel Johnson's nephritis. The book is concluded with a miscellaneous collection of scholarly curiosities.

*The Scholar Adventurers* has no particular structure. Various chapters could have been interchanged, and no one would have been the wiser. The whole book is something of a conglomerate. When one considers the author's approach, the chief defect, however, that marks *The Scholar Adventurers* is excusable if not inevitable. It is Mr. Altick's habit of making a good story just a little bit better than it really was. A good instance in point is furnished by his treatment of researches done at the Folger Shakespeare Library. He has consistently dramatized them. The resulting air of breathlessness is his personal contribution. Yet that kind of heightening is not too hard to defend.

Some pessimistic observers insist there is no such thing as a book which will appeal both to the specialist and the general reader. Mr. Altick has demonstrated how they can be wrong.

University of Maryland

CARL BODE

ISLAMIC SOCIETY AND THE WEST: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION ON MOSLEM CULTURE IN THE NEAR EAST. Volume One, ISLAMIC SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, Part I. By H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 386. \$4.50.)

FOR many years every student of Near and Middle<sup>a</sup> Eastern history has lamented the lack of a serious study on the society and social institutions in the Ottoman Empire. Mouragea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, though quite comprehensive, is too legalistic and theoretical to give real understanding and appreciation of conditions and practices. Lybyer's *The Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman* is a study of the government and its functioning, almost exclusively. Thus, the reader of Ottoman history has up to now been able only to catch glimpses of domestic and internal history of the empire by perusing the dispatches of ambassadors and the journals of travelers. Professors Gibb and Bowen, in the first instance, proposed to examine the impact of Western society, and in particular its ideas, upon Islamic society during the nineteenth century. But Volume I of this study became, by necessity, a survey of Moslem society (restricted to the Ottoman Empire) as it existed in the period imme-



diately preceding the Napoleonic era. Part I portrays the structure of the imperial government, the army and navy, the government of the provinces (with a special chapter on the administration of the Arab provinces), the peasantry, land tenure, agriculture, the cities, industry, and commerce.

It is a most ambitious work and exceedingly well done. The research has been thorough and painstaking. Without doubt, it will remain a standard work indefinitely and, together with Part II, which will cover the fields of taxation, finance, law, education, literature, religion, and religious endowments, will serve as a most useful reference work for students of European history as well as for those of the Near and Middle East. Though just now appearing, Part I went to press in 1939 and, thus, publications of the last decade are not mentioned and much of the fruit of the research in Ottoman history by modern Turkish scholars such as Gövsa, Tükin, Danişmend, and Uzunçarşılı is not utilized.

Important contributions that Professors Gibb and Bowen make in this volume are particularly noteworthy on the subjects of the *aķhis*, fief holding, and the gilds. In conjunction with the recent publications of G. G. Arnakis, one can now begin to understand the role of the *aķhi* associations (at which Langer and Blake hinted many years ago) in the dynamic growth and vitality of the early Ottoman society. The description of the Ottoman gild system, the absorption of Byzantine gilds after the taking of Constantinople and the relationship subsequently to the government should be of concern to all students of Western history.

The sections on industry and commerce relate almost entirely to the situation as it existed in Egypt with some reference to Syria. Perhaps little material was found relative to the industry and commerce of Izmir, Edirne, Bursa, and Istanbul and the trading relations of these cities with the West and with the several established Western trading companies. It is hoped as the work progresses that some picture of trading conditions in these areas can be drawn.

The work, however, is so superior and fills such an obvious and long-felt gap that one can only hope that Part II and the other volumes to follow will maintain the high level of scholarship shown in Part I and that one will not have to wait too long for their appearance.

*Ohio State University*

SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER

AMERICA FACES RUSSIA: RUSSIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS FROM EARLY TIMES TO OUR DAY. By *Thomas A. Bailey*, Stanford University. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 375. \$4.00.)

THERE is a persistent legend in the United States that if only the Soviet leaders could be made to disappear, with or without benefit of the atomic bomb, the Russian people would promptly achieve harmony with the American people and both would live happily ever after in a world dedicated to human progress. This comforting legend has been nurtured by the belief that no disagreements ever darkened American-Russian relations until the Bolsheviks seized power in 1917

and that all the features of Russia which we find repugnant today are due solely to the machinations of the Communists.

The most important contribution that historians can make in a period of turbulent transition like ours, when the ill-informed wish is too often father to the ill-considered deed, is to brush away the cobwebs of illusion and place contemporary events in their proper perspective. Professor Bailey of Stanford University performs a real service by recapitulating the uneven course of relations between the United States and Russia during nearly two centuries. Writing in his accustomed lively style, which should make his book accessible to the general reader, with generous use of anecdotes and thought-provoking cartoons, he devotes nearly two thirds of his book to a review of the tsarist period which, as he points out in his preface, is less familiar than the oft-described era of Soviet rule.

While Professor Bailey does not present much new material—the field has been gleaned over before, notably by Professor Foster Rhea Dulles in *The Road to Teheran*—his marshaling of information, obviously with an eye on comparisons with contemporary events, should clarify many controversial issues for those whose powers of interpretation are not hopelessly beclouded by prejudice.

Many passages cry out for quotation to those of our newspaper writers and radio commentators who keep on creating the impression that the thirty-year existence of the Soviet system is a nasty but isolated episode in Russia's history. For example, writing about the picture the American reader had of tsarist Russia in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Professor Bailey says: "A favorite theme of the American press was Russian censorship. Such well-known works as Carlyle's *French Revolution* and Lecky's *History of European Morals* were placed on the prohibited lists. Russian newspapers were under restraint to print nothing discreditable to the government, such as the accidental sinking of a naval vessel." Or, at another point: "Despotism was everywhere entrenched; the state was everything, the individual nothing. Mild suggestion of reform invited reprisals. Seizure was swift; disappearance mysterious; punishment summary and often barbarous, supplemented by liberal applications of the knout and many-thonged Cossack whip. The Czar lived in daily dread of death, and his army of secret police, fantastically estimated at 50,000 in St. Petersburg alone, was everywhere."

Then, as now, the United States regarded the Russians as devious and untrustworthy in international negotiations. "An aroused Baltimore *American* asserted in 1886: 'Russia's ambition is sleepless and insatiable. It goes ahead, step by step, through intrigue, through treachery, through diplomatic mendacity, through anything that helps it onward. Her policy is to get more territory, and what difference does it make if her material interests suffer, if her debt piles up, and if her people remain poor?'" When Tsar Nicholas II, in 1898, called for an international conference on the limitation of armaments before the Spanish-American War had officially ended, his appeal met with skepticism in the United States. "Russia's army was the largest in the world; she had whipped up recurrent war

scares; and she was bending her frontiers outward, particularly in Manchuria. Less than six months earlier she had wrenched Port Arthur from the senile grasp of China."

Most interesting of all, in view of our current preoccupation with Russia's activities in Asia and in the Near and Middle East, is the contrast Professor Bailey draws between the relative indifference with which the press in this country viewed Russia's nineteenth century advance along the Persian and Afghan borders ("These places were too far away; we had no vital interests there; and besides, the Russians, for all their backwardness, were carrying a superior culture to less advanced peoples") and the "almost hysterical apprehension" in Britain. "The British were worried about the energy, youth, and expansiveness of Russia; about her 'inexhaustible' man-power, her huge army, and her navy, which was rapidly being augmented with specially designed commerce destroyers obviously aimed at England. Alleged Russian duplicity and mendacity were constantly harped upon by British writings, conspicuous among which was Kipling's immortal appeal in 1898, 'Make ye no truce with Adam-zad—the Bear that walks like a Man.'"

Yet Britain, which felt so menaced by Russia less than a hundred years ago, lived to have Russia as an ally in two world wars. Professor Bailey sees clearly that Communist ideology has introduced a new dimension into Russia's otherwise persisting foreign policy. Nevertheless, the best piece of advice he offers in his concluding chapter is the very advice which made it possible for Britain, while striving to "contain" tsarist Russia, to avoid war with "the Colossus of the North": "We should remember that patience is needed in dealing with the Soviets, who themselves have the Oriental-Byzantine patience of the Czarist Russians."

*New York, N. Y.*

VERA MICHELES DEAN

## Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF MEDICINE. By *Henry E. Sigerist*, Research Associate in the History of Medicine, Yale University. Volume I, PRIMITIVE AND ARCHAIC MEDICINE. [Historical Library, Yale Medical Library, Publication No. 27.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xxi, 564. \$8.50.)

BORN in Paris and educated in France, England, Germany, and Switzerland, Dr. Sigerist first studied the classics and then received a degree in medicine at Zurich. After advanced medical study in Germany, he taught the history of medicine at Zurich, then at Leipzig, and after 1932 at Johns Hopkins. His interest in problems of public health led him to travel widely in South America, Asia, the Soviet Union, and Africa. Even in his student days he began dreaming

of a comprehensive history of medicine, and during his years at Hopkins he wrote frequent articles on the subject as well as editing a learned journal and a series of monographs. It soon became clear to him, however, that if he continued these many activities he would never find the time to complete his magnum opus. He therefore resigned his professorship in 1947, when only fifty-six years old, accepted an appointment as research associate at Yale, and retired to Switzerland to devote himself entirely to writing the eight large volumes of his proposed *History of Medicine*. The first volume, dealing with "primitive and archaic medicine," has now appeared. It is an immensely learned and stimulating volume which raises high hopes for what is to follow.

In an introductory section Dr. Sigerist indicates the breadth of the field he plans to cover. He is going to study health and disease at different periods, seeking to learn what men did to promote the one and to prevent or cure the other. After establishing what diseases were found in a given locality, he will show how prevailing medical theories led men to treat them. But he will also study the physician as a man, examining his legal status, his training, his empirical knowledge, and his philosophy of disease and of the world. Moreover, the medicine man and the fakir, the priest and the magician will receive attention as well as the trained physician. In a word, the author is going to study all the problems of health and disease in their social and cultural environment. This is a large order, but one for which Dr. Sigerist is well fitted.

After several pages on "paleopathology," which tell what can be learned about the diseases of prehistoric men from their surviving bones and artifacts, a long chapter discusses the medicine of modern "primitives." Dr. Sigerist does not share the simple views of Herbert Spencer and H. G. Wells about the evolution of human culture, but he regards these elementary systems of medicine as important answers to very grave problems. Even today, countless persons in the most civilized countries still accept them.

The remainder of the book (rather more than half) is given over to two long chapters on the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians. An introductory section of each chapter discusses the geography of the region, with special attention to health conditions. A rather full account of general social conditions then leads up to the discussion of medicine, first of "magico-religious" medicine and then of "empirico-rational" medicine. Here the author relies upon already published materials, but his medical training enables him to give these sources new and valuable criticism. He strongly resents the attitude of scholars who sneer at or tend to be apologetic about ancient magic. After all, the magician and the priest had "rational" (i.e., logically coherent) theories of medicine which deserve our sympathetic study. In one interesting passage (p. 280), he even suggests that sorcerers often had better success with their spells than physicians then did with their drugs. They gave the patient peace of mind and confidence, thus allowing the organism to cure itself. On the other hand, Dr. Sigerist criticizes the sweeping statements often made by scholars with no medical training, and he repeatedly

points out that the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians were not so close to modern medicine as enthusiasts sometimes suggest.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE ALTE GESCHICHTE. By *Hermann Bengtson*. (Munich: Biederstein [formerly Beck]. 1949. Pp. viii, 185. \$3.00.)

OVER-PUBLICATION is making the field of ancient history increasingly difficult. The most recent survey of books and articles on Greek inscriptions alone, for instance, covering publications that appeared 1941-1945, reports on no fewer than 1,010 titles. Inscriptions are primary sources; but they are not the only kind of reading matter for historians. For ancient history the difficulty created by sheer quantity—the difficulty, that is, which tends to bog down the history of the nineteenth century (A.D.)—is enhanced by the technical difficulties inherent in the study of coins, monuments, inscriptions, etc. Straightforward reading has to be supplemented by special skills.

The antidote for over-publication is the books which list and systematize and evaluate, which summarize and synthesize, and which pose questions for the future. Ancient history, thanks to more than three centuries of continuous scholarly activity, is equipped beyond all other fields with *Hilfsmitteln*. In recent years three such volumes have appeared, French, British, and German, each ignorant (or disregarding) of the others, each different and engagingly definite in its national characteristics.

R. Cohen's *La Grèce et l'Hellénisation du monde antique* (Paris, 1939; reprinted 1948) is the most synthetic and brilliant. Its notes fill hundreds of small-print pages with bibliography woven into discussion; one gasps at the coverage and groans at the misprints. Even if the focus is not always really clear and penetrating, one is grateful for the light. A. Piganiol's *Histoire de Rome* (3d ed., Paris, 1949), a companion volume in the remarkable series "Clio: Introduction aux Etudes historiques," is known to Bengtson, who pronounces it a *vorzügliches Arbeitsinstrument* (p. 145). The Cohen volume is appraised in the *American Journal of Philology*, LXVIII (1947), 98-100, and a note on the third edition, LXXII (1951), 104.

These are the only American notices of Cohen, and there has been no critical American review of Piganiol (cf. M. Gelzer, in *Gnomon*, XVIII [1942], 129-32; brief notice, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLV [1940], 690-91). The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1949), in contrast, is likely not to be neglected. It too is a feat, but of organization, of British practicality, sometimes penetrating (Wade-Gery on Thucydides), often merely neat, rarely benightedly insular (the article on Cicero). No fewer than 169 contributors (30 American; too few) were marshaled to do nearly 5,000 articles. Apart from a few-score articles which leave nothing to be desired, the volume has limitations in every direction, but thanks to these it could be pushed through, regardless of a war, to constitute a summary of all

classical studies today. Viewing it as such, A. S. Pease and the undersigned have attempted a review which is intended to be useful: *Classical Weekly*, XLIV (1950-51), 225-54.

In its way, H. Bengtson's *Einführung* is as much a triumph as *La Grèce* or the *OCD*. It is not a triumph of sheer brilliance. You do not gasp—but neither do you groan; there are next to no errors or misprints. Nor is the *Einführung* really a triumph of practicality, despite its title, and despite its light, handy form, lucid print, clear arrangement, and brevity. Restorations in inscriptions, for instance, are or ought to be a burning question; but whereas the beginner should be told to believe only the evidence of Adolf Wilhelm (at least until some of his very recent articles) and to distrust all others, Bengtson offers, on page 113, abstractions. No one man could give correct practical advice on every phase. But the volume is a triumph of alert, flexible, catholic, kindly, systematic erudition. It marches through all the fields comprised in or neighboring to ancient history. It conceives our history as one, but falling into halves, ancient and modern, for purposes of study: the Arabs ended ancient history, and Charlemagne began modern. The *Einführung* surveys the study of ancient history from Egypt on, aspect by aspect and discipline by discipline: space and time (but no real philosophy or even definition of history); the history of *Forschung*; chronology, geography, anthropology (broadly conceived; anthropology in a narrow sense contributes little as yet); *die Überlieferung*, excellent; *die Monumente*, weak in all these books—the skill necessary to interpret the mass of new archaeological information is too largely confined to the excavators, who spend their time adding to the mass; epigraphy, papyrology, numismatics; neighboring disciplines; *Hilfsmittel*; twenty-seven pages of selected bibliography; an index. Occasionally there is insight into the nature of problems, there is the feel of the subject. Yet necessarily, in a work so brief, much is external and distant; the great works of scholarship are majestic silhouettes ranged on the horizon. But I doubt if many other living scholars could even name so many groups of them.

Hermann Bengtson of Munich, a pupil of E. Ziebarth, collaborated with W. Otto in researches on the later Ptolemies (1938), published substantial detailed volumes of his own on the Hellenistic *strategia* (1937, 1944; Vol. III printing), edited E. Kornemann's history of the ancient world from Philip II of Macedon to Mohammed (1949), and has now (1950) published a 600-page *Griechische Geschichte* from the Mycenaean Age to the death of Justinian (A.D. 565). It was at Munich that Otto refounded and expanded the great *Handbuch* to cover all *Altertumswissenschaft*. Nothing can explain titanic erudition, much less make it easy; but that is the setting and the case history.

Harvard University

STERLING DOW

TROY. Volume I, GENERAL INTRODUCTION: THE FIRST AND SECOND SETTLEMENTS. Part 1: Text; Part 2: Plates. By Carl W. Blegen,

*et al.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press for University of Cincinnati. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 396; xxvii, 473 plates. \$36.00.)

TROY is a word of wonder and magic, casting its spell over the ages. Those who have uttered it have had varying visions, according as they spoke as poets, literati, mythologists, historians, archaeologists. The present work takes care to leave no room for doubt of the sense which it intends: this is the archaeologists' Troy, the Troy of the digger of the many-layered mound of Hissarlik.

Eighty years ago Schliemann first attacked the site and, in campaigns which spread over twenty years, dug much of it away. In 1893-94 Doerpfeld dug again, with much better knowledge and more scrupulous methods of his own devising. Forty years later, between 1932 and 1938, the University of Cincinnati Expedition, under the initiative of Professor W. T. Semple and with the eminent Helladic specialist Professor Carl W. Blegen as field director, returned to the ravaged mound to apply even more precise scrutiny, to extract even more exact information. At the time, one wondered whether these last-comers might not have been too late, since a site so intensively excavated must have had most of its evidence destroyed in the digging. But the preliminary reports published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* between 1932 and 1939 brought reassurance that an expert such as Blegen could find enough of ancient Troy still in place; and now that the full final publication has begun to appear, no one can doubt that it was really feasible and abundantly repaying to re-dig the Hissarlik tell. The Cincinnati Expedition has thereby done modern archaeological science a great service—even though a recent brief visit to the site convinced the present reviewer that Schliemann, Doerpfeld, and Blegen have doomed Troy to its final destruction because such a mound, fully laid bare, cannot survive modern man and the seasonal changes of weather.

So far, it is only the first volume of the great publication which is obtainable, and by the chronological intention of its authors this presents only the two lowest of the nine layers into which Doerpfeld divided the accumulated levels of the fortress-mound. Four more volumes are in course of preparation. Not until these are available will it be possible to evaluate fully the achievements of this great prehistoric and classical exploration covering three thousand years of seemingly continuous occupation of a single site; for the general introduction to the first volume makes no attempt to summarize or anticipate the findings. And yet, with only the earliest (Late Copper and Early Bronze Age) material described and listed, it is already possible to speak in general terms of the work as a whole.

In the first place, its thoroughness and accuracy admit no criticism unless it be that there is too much of both. It has become the modern digger's credo that every minutest and most fragmentary object shall be fully recorded—exactly where and how it was found; what it was found with, above, below, beside; what it looked like when found, and after cleaning or treatment; what it must have looked like originally, when complete; what objects similar to it have ever been found, on the



same site, on other sites. But does it follow that such an admirably scrupulous record, when it applies to thousands of potsherds and hundreds of metal and bone pins, awls, spindle whorls, must all be published? And if not all of it, how much? and what? Presumably no one knows the correct answer to this question, perhaps because there is no correct answer. In the final accounting, it is only the people who dug a site (especially an intricately layered and thoroughly gutted site) who are in a position to draw inferences from their work; and if they are to be trusted as diggers (and in the present instance, Blegen's staff was one of the profession's finest), they should be trusted as scholars and interpreters also. There was, to be sure, a very special reason why this latest—and probably last!—excavation of Troy should set itself such rigid standards and publish so much detail with impartial unambiguity. It was precisely because Schliemann's major assault on Hissarlik had signally failed to meet the requirements of modern scholarship that Cincinnati moved into the field.

It may therefore seem unreasonable to complain of such a masterly publication as the new *Troy* promises, that it is too exclusively the factual report of an intricately laborious dig; but if the completed work is to cost two hundred dollars and every archaeological library must have it on its shelves, then the monetary outlay will be a drawback. And equally serious will be the scholarly expense of time on a vast accumulation of data presented so impartially that the student can hardly choose but read all of it. The reviewer does not pretend to prescribe a better procedure for publishing a dig; but he insists that he is not being merely querulous in remarking that there is such a thing as doing too good a job. *Troy* will not be the last important site to be dug by exhaustive modern methods; and it is not untimely to ask whether such a publication may not become the victim of its own ideals of perfection.

And since a review is by its nature a critique as well as a medium for well-merited commendation, there is a second consideration which may not be out of place. In spite of the slight note of irritation on page 5, there is little danger lest the present *Troy* will yield (as Schliemann so naturally did) to the unarchaeological temptation of interpreting any of the strata or buildings or find-objects in terms of the text of Homer's *Iliad*. But there does seem to be a chance that a group of Helladic prehistorians may interpret Hissarlik too exclusively in Aegean terms, as though—despite Homeric tradition!—Troy runs with Greece and not with Asia. The catchword "Aegean" recurs again and again in Volume I as Aegean parallels are cited while Asia Minor and Oriental parallels are, if not ignored, yet slighted. Is it too late to enter a plea that the wonderfully accurate and brilliantly successful exploration of the Hissarlik mound may be made to throw light eastward as well as westward? Nor can the reviewer help sensing some further Aegean prejudice in the brief reference to Layer VIIb on page 23 of the general introduction, where the Thraco-Phrygian migration of the Iron Age, which dotted the Sea of Marmora with Thracian villages and brought the Phrygian power to the ruins of the departed Hittite greatness, is characterized as

a "mysterious culture" of indeterminate source and undiscoverable duration. Even Homer had some tradition here; and shall the infinitely better informed modern digger not see at least as clearly?

*Bryn Mawr College*

RHYS CARPENTER

THE ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS. Volume III. By *Benjamin Dean Meritt*, Institute for Advanced Study, *H. T. Wade-Gery*, New College, Oxford, and *Malcolm Francis McGregor*, University of Cincinnati. (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1950. Pp. xx, 366. \$10.00.)

THIS is the third and (except for the index) final volume of the monumental work on the Athenian Tribute Lists, the Assessment Texts, and all other related evidence, epigraphic and literary, pertaining to the financial administration of the Athenian Empire. The present volume serves as a commentary upon the first two, and contains three parts: "The Evidence of the Texts," which complements the earlier commentaries, and in particular explains the changes in the texts made in Volume II; "The Other Evidence," which contains eleven excursions upon evidence, epigraphic and literary, outside the tribute records; and "The Athenian Naval Confederacy," which is a narrative history of the Athenian Empire, interpreted in terms of its financial administration. The first two parts are addressed to the specialist; the third (the authors tell us) to the general reader. Fortunately, there are certain areas of scholarship that cannot be vulgarized, and it is a compliment to the authors that they have failed miserably in their appeal to the layman. Indeed, not only the classical scholar but also the ancient historian (unless he be a specialist in epigraphy *and* in this period) will find that this volume, like the first two, requires the highest concentration and the most delicate critical judgment.

Since it is the badge of a great work to provoke, not to end, speculation, and since in a journal devoted to all fields of history space for an adequate and worthy review of so specialized a work is not available, the following two notes are offered as simple and modest *ἀπαρχαί* to Athena.

(1) The interpretation of *πολυψηφία* in Thuc. III, 10, 5, is difficult. Some (Dale, Livingstone, and the present authors, pp. 138-39) take it to mean "the system by which each of many states has one vote." This meaning is sound in itself (see Philo, 2, 567), but awkward in the literary and historical context of the word's use here. Others (Classen "durch Wortstellung," Jowett, and Fox) interpret it as "diversity of opinion or interest." This, while not impossible as a secondary meaning, strains the force of *ψηφός* in the compound.

Can not *πολυψηφία* mean "a system by which one or a few states had many votes, while the others had just one," i.e., a system by which voting strength was unequally distributed? This meaning has its attractions. First, it is possible, and Lucian (*Harm.* 3) uses the word (as a superlative, *πολυψηφότατος*) to mean precisely that, and mentions, as illustrative, the two votes of the Spartan kings.

Secondly, it preserves the Thucydidean antitheses between Thuc. III, 10, 4-5 and III, 11, 3-4, and makes good sense. The Mytilenean envoys are contrasting their position (and that of Chios) with that of the lesser allies. They are saying: We and the Chians had equal voting strength with Athens and (people naturally said), "those *at least* (note the force of γέ) who have an equal vote cannot be forced against their will." The lesser allies, however, were unable individually to protect themselves, because Athens could outvote them (διὰ πολυψηφίαν). Surely, the Mytileneans are not saying that the same system (one state = one vote) which made them and the Chians strong, face to face with the Athenians, made the lesser allies weak. Yet, if πολυψηφία means "the system by which each member state has equal voting strength," then πολυψηφία means the same as ἰσοψηφία (III, 11, 3), and what becomes of the meaning of words? Finally, the meaning here suggested gives force to Thuc. I, 125, 1, where the emphasis is not that each Peloponnesian state, but that each Peloponnesian state, *large and small alike* (καὶ μείζονι καὶ ἐλάσσονι πόλει), had one vote. This, Pericles is implying, was not the Athenian system when the Delian Congress met. Indeed, it may be that the League Covenant, as Thucydides seems to suggest in III, 10, 6 (see also Aristotle, Aθ, Πολ. 23, 5), like the *foedus Cassianum* between Rome and the Latins, was in part at least a bilateral contract between Athens on the one hand and on the other the lesser allies.

(2) The interpretation of the πόλεις αὐταί rubric is difficult. The authors have abandoned their earlier translation (*ATL*, I, p. 456), "cities assessed tribute separately," and now translate (*ibid.*, III, p. 85) "cities which accepted assessment by special arrangement." May not the key lie in the meaning of ταξάμεναι? In Thuc. I, 99, 3, χρήματα ἐτξξαντο does not mean that the allies assessed for themselves the *amount* of their tribute, but that they caused themselves to be enrolled as tribute-paying allies (instead of ship-furnishing allies). So ταξάμεναι in the rubric need not mean "assessed for themselves the amount of their tribute," but rather (as a causative middle, Goodwin and Gulick, *G. G.* 1246) "caused themselves to be enrolled as tribute-paying allies."

Praise for this work better comes from better men than this reviewer. He can however be proud that its authors (Mr. Wade-Gery is in good company) have once again made illustrious the great American school of Greek epigraphers.

Ohio State University

W. F. McDONALD

THE ATHENIAN EXPOUNDERS OF THE SACRED AND ANCESTRAL LAW. By *James H. Oliver*, Professor of Classics at the Johns Hopkins University. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 179.)

Two important studies—both made quite independently—on the exegetes or interpreters of sacred and ancestral law at Athens appeared last year: the monograph under review and the sections devoted to the exegetes in F. Jacoby, *Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (pp. 8-70, 236-90). The two studies,

however, do not really duplicate each other. Jacoby is primarily concerned with refuting Wilamowitz' theory on the role of the exegetes in the origin of the *Atthis*, and the later history of the exegetes does not fall within the scope of his investigation.

Professor Oliver, in his first three chapters, deals with the backgrounds and origins of the exegetes, and then examines, in chapter iv, their number and functions. Owing to the scantiness of other sources, the *Laws* of Plato must necessarily occupy a large place in any study of the exegete problem, and this means that the question of the validity, or the extent of the validity, of the *Laws* as a source must be faced and answered. The Platonic evidence is evaluated judiciously in chapter v. The study of the exegetes in the Roman period—an age of archaizing in Athens and elsewhere—led the author to make a special investigation of the high priests of the imperial cult at Athens, and of the connection of this cult with that of Apollo and with the priest of Apollo. The exposition of this phase of his research, which is presented in chapter vi, constitutes the most original and solidly established part of his monograph. Chapter vii contains a very valuable study on the influence of Athenian terminology upon Greek writers on Roman affairs. A long appendix (pp. 122–64) presents the literary and epigraphical evidence in full. In this appendix, as throughout the monograph, the epigraphical evidence, including the latest finds, is handled with unusual competence and accuracy. The book is furnished with two good indexes.

The monograph under review is an important study of a politico-religious problem of Athenian history. As in the case of Jacoby's work mentioned above, it marks a distinct advance even in the treatment of those aspects of the problem already covered by earlier scholars. Both investigations have gained much in value and perspective from the breadth with which they have been conducted. Considering the scantiness of our sources for the exegetes before the fourth century B.C., and even later, extensive reconstruction is necessary in any attack on the problem of origin, election, etc. General agreement on many points, to say nothing of finality, is hardly to be expected. The divergent views of Oliver and Jacoby accentuate the number and character of controversial points, and once more illustrate how little we really know with certainty about numerous institutions which existed for many centuries and were obviously regarded as having considerable significance. Since it would be impossible in the space of a brief review to deal adequately with the more important points of controversy, the reviewer will confine himself to a few critical comments.

The author maintains that the *chresmologi* and *manteis* were identical and that the *chresmologi* were exclusively of eupatrid origin (pp. 11–17, 287). Both points are open to serious question. (On the *chresmologi*, see the observations made by M. P. Nilsson in his long review of Oliver's book in the *American Journal of Philology*, LXXI [1950], 420–25.) There is definite evidence for official exegetes at Athens from 399 B.C., and it is quite possible that they owed their official status to the revision of the laws of Solon a few years earlier (p. 31). It would seem

very probable, however, that, given the nature of the institution, quasi-official exegetes were functioning from the period before Solon himself. Incidentally, this point is emphasized strongly by Jacoby. I do not accept Oliver's view that the Old Ionic tribes were introduced from Ionia and at a relatively late date, but I should like to stress the importance of his discussion of the *trittyes* as organs of political and religious life at Athens before Cleisthenes, and even after Cleisthenes in the religious sphere (pp. 65-71). The historical reconstruction proposed may be challenged, but it deserves careful study. Excessive reliance on the flimsy evidence available for Draco and his constitution, however, has led the author to suggest a most improbable emendation in Aristotle (*Const. Athen.*, 4), and thus to ascribe the creation of a Council of Five Hundred and One to Draco. Finally, it may be questioned occasionally whether sufficient attention has been given to the limitations of the evidence furnished by archaizing institutions and antiquarians of the Roman period. In antiquity at least an archaizing institution often reveals not what the old institution really was but rather what it was thought to have been.

The book, which includes copious passages in Greek, is printed with exemplary accuracy. The few slips noted by the reviewer are not significant.

Catholic University of America

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

JOHN CASSIAN: A STUDY IN PRIMITIVE MONASTICISM. By *Owen Chadwick*, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 213. \$3.00.)

JOHN Cassian is a figure of no little importance and interest. A monk at Bethlehem and in Egypt, as the Origenist controversy reached its climax, a follower of John Chrysostom in the stormy years of his patriarchate in Constantinople, a friend in Rome of the future Leo the Great, founder of the great monastery of St. Victor in Marseilles, author of the *Institutes* and the *Conferences*, works on monasticism that exerted great influence on St. Benedict, author of the principal Western work on Nestorianism, and a leading figure in the semi-Pelagian controversy—he has waited long for a full-length treatment in English. Such a treatment is here offered. Many will find this study valuable primarily as a guide to recent Continental research, but the book offers much that is new, and is a model of clarity, compactness, and good scholarship.

In the semi-Pelagian (or, as Mr. Chadwick would prefer to call it, the anti-Augustinian) controversy, Cassian distinguished himself by challenging not altogether ineffectively the Augustinian doctrine of irresistible grace; he denied the total loss of will through original sin, and insisted that, for some persons, a free exercise of will may precede grace. Cassian certainly made the minimum concession to free will compatible with his convictions on the ascetic life, but the reader may wonder whether there is no taint, however faint, of Pelagianism in his thought.

In his attack on Nestorianism Cassian appears in a less favorable light. The author demonstrates conclusively that Cassian had no real understanding of Nestorius' views, and that, in his own lack of precision, he "wanders as haphazardly towards the Monophysites as to the Nestorians." But "what Cassian understood of Nestorius came down to the west as Nestorianism," and remained unchallenged until the present century.

Cassian's lasting significance, however, came in his contribution to the development of Western monasticism. Mr. Chadwick holds no brief for the *Institutes* as a practical guide for a monastery; it was marked by a lack of systematic thought and by a rambling discursiveness, and scarcely bears comparison with Benedict's work, however heavily Benedict may have leaned upon it. But Cassian did play a major role in the transmission of the saner part of Eastern monastic and ascetic thought to the West. He "holds his place in Christian history because he set western monasticism upon sane lines. . . . Treating the eastern extravagance with a truly Roman common sense, he was a worthy predecessor of the Benedictine tradition."

*Queens College*

RICHARD W. EMERY

NAVAL POWER AND TRADE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, A.D. 500-1100. By *Archibald R. Lewis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 271. \$4.00.)

THIS is an attempt to look at the history of the Mediterranean regions within the chronological limits indicated by the title from the aspect of naval power and trade. What the author does is to analyze the important historical events which took place in these regions during this period, emphasizing throughout the role of sea power and pointing out the effects of this upon trade. Thus, after an introductory chapter dealing with the situation such as it was about the year 500 A.D., the author relates the story of: the reconstitution of Roman Empire by Justinian; the disruptive effects of the eruptions of the Arabs; the recovery of Byzantine power in the course of the eighth century; the renewed offensive of Islam which resulted in the occupation of the important islands of the Mediterranean, such as Crete and Sicily; and the triumph of the West during the second half of the eleventh century. A chapter, called "The Age of Transition," covers the period from 960 to 1043. The plan of each chapter is the same. First there is a treatment of the important historical events with the emphasis on the role of sea power; then follows a discussion, with the stress on trade, of economic conditions.

As the work makes no new concrete contributions to our knowledge, it should be described as interpretive in nature. The author takes well-known facts and tries to show how they were affected or affected naval power and trade. But the book is provocative and makes some interesting suggestions, although these are not always backed by conclusive evidence. Thus, the assertion, arrived at through an interpretive approach to the events of the seventh and eighth centuries, that



"it was not the Arabs but Byzantium who destroyed the ancient unity of the Mediterranean" has no positive evidence in its support. So also the view which attributes the collapse of the Byzantine Empire to its defensive attitude and economic rigidity. This view is often expressed, but it is difficult to reconcile it with the fact, obvious to anyone who has studied the history of this empire, that it was precisely in the times when the economic controls were the strongest that the empire was great. But, as all depends on the angle from which things are viewed, it could hardly be expected that all the interpretations offered in this book would meet with general approval. It would have sufficed if they were provocative and stimulating. This they are.

It must be said, however, that, as a work of scholarship, this book leaves something to be desired. The author relies chiefly upon secondary works and translations of the sources, although he sometimes refers to the original accounts. To be sure, these are the limitations within which he proposed to work, and, given the complexity of his problems, they are not unreasonable; still, even within these limitations, he shows scholarly defects. Thus, as an example, in referring to the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, he cites Diehl and the old edition in Migne, but ignores the superior edition by E. Wistdt and the English translation by J. W. McCrindle (Hakluyt Society Publications, No. 98). The lack of a bibliographical list makes it difficult to check all of his references, but he seems to have overlooked Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire* and other works, such as Goubert's "Byzance et l'Espagne" (*Revue des études byzantines*, II, III, IV), Vogt's "Le Protospathaire de la Phiale et la marine byzantine" (*Echos d'Orient*, XXXIX), Lopez's "Le problème des relations Anglo-Byzantines du septième au dixième siècle" (*Byzantion*, XVIII), Shepard's "The Byzantine Reconquest of Crete. . ." (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, LXVII, no. 462), which, by their very nature, should have been cited in this work. The book, however, is very stimulating and should be read by all those who are interested in the history of the Mediterranean.

Rutgers University

PETER CHARANIS

#### THE ROYAL DEMESNE IN ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY:

1066-1272. By Robert S. Hoyt, Associate Professor of History, State University of Iowa. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1950. Pp. xii, 253. \$3.50.)

BRACTON's rationalizations, according to Professor Hoyt, "have led historians to view the privileges of the ancient demesne as essentially a survival and as evidence of the force of custom and of the static nature of medieval society. It has been our thesis . . . that the very reverse was true. The real nature of the royal demesne in English constitutional history was dynamic and not static in that it provided the monarchy its best opportunity for shaping and creating medieval society to serve its own interests." To support this thesis he argues that the Norman



kings as landlords were not different from other landlords. But "the early development, in England, of a mature financial system owes much to the freedom with which new financial and administrative methods could be developed in connection with the exploitation of the widespread royal demesne and then extended to the general administration of the whole realm."

The way in which the author develops his thesis from the evidence will give medieval scholars that special pleasure such as might come from watching a skillful chess player. Interpreting medieval documents has some of the characteristics of a complicated game, a large puzzle with many missing pieces. When therefore an author undertakes to re-examine as well known a source as Domesday Book, and to advance new interpretations which sound convincing, and when this involves respectful but unhesitating challenge of the conclusions of such champions as Vinogradoff, Maitland, and particularly J. H. Round, the specialists may well pay attention.

Professor Hoyt insists that "the historian must [work] . . . with a purpose, to draw his interpretation from, and not impose it upon, the evidence." And he warns particularly against the danger of attributing "to men of a remote age ideas, distinctions, and institutions of which they were ignorant." He views the activities reflected in his sources as those of practical men dealing with particular situations for immediate purposes such as the elimination of fraud, the avoidance of waste, and the increase in efficiency and revenue, presumably unconcerned with theories of constitutional development. With this general assumption in mind the author shows us what questions he has asked himself and by what evidence and reasoning he has sought for answers. The restraint which he exhibits in interpreting his data helps greatly to support his conclusions. What he presents is an elaborately argued case based upon a large amount of detailed material, a case which will be appreciated by those who recognize the intricacies of problems in medieval institutional history, but one which can be evaluated properly only by someone who is equally master of all the documents.

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

MEDIAEVAL HUMANISM IN THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF JOHN OF SALISBURY. By *Hans Liebeschütz*. [Studies of the Warburg Institute, Volume XVII.] (London: the Institute, University of London. 1950. Pp. 126. \$5.60.)

THE editor of the *Review*, I suspect, was indulging in a bit of malicious humor when he invited me to review this book, for it compels me to compare this work of a mature scholar with my own, virtually undergraduate, effort on the same subject. In the interval of forty-odd years between these two studies there have appeared the monumental editions of the *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon* by C. C. J. Webb and of the *Historia pontificalis* by R. L. Poole, as well as the annotated translation of the *Policraticus* partly by J. Dickinson, the remainder by

J. P. Pike. In addition, every serious study of cultural and intellectual history involving the twelfth century published during this time has devoted more or less attention to John of Salisbury. The author seems to be familiar with nearly all of this literature.

The present work is essentially an essay in intellectual history. The author presupposes that the reader is as familiar with the antecedent works on John of Salisbury as he himself is and treats his subject on that basis. This assumption will place a difficult burden on most of his readers, who may ill comprehend disembodied thought. Despite the title, the author's interest is primarily in John's political ideas. John's classical lore is treated almost exclusively as a mine of examples to bolster his ideas on government. In addition the author traces John's ideas to Scripture and patristic literature of the Middle Ages from Jerome and Augustine up to John's own time.

The title, however, invites the reader's attention to John's humanism. It is here that the contrast between the undergraduate's study of John's classical learning and the present work is most marked. The undergraduate with a *tabula rasa* mind could recognize the words and even the customary combination of words (style) of the classical authors used by John though the meaning of the words, certainly their full meaning, was much beyond him. The more mature author of this work is almost exclusively interested in the meaning of the words and considers John's classical quotations primarily as an illustration of his ideas on political matters. Where the first, at that time a somewhat impassioned devotee of classical education, was chiefly interested in the range of John's classical lore and its effects upon his literary style, the latter is almost solely concerned with John's understanding of the authors who furnish him with examples on political matters. Indeed, the author nowhere speculates upon John's reiterated quotation *otium sine litteris mors est* as evidence of esthetic, as well as ethical, interest in the study of the classics. Humanism evidently did not have the same meaning for both these writers.

The reviewer is grateful to the author for clearing up several obscure matters which troubled the undergraduate. The latter was much puzzled by his inability to find in classical literature the frequent and lengthy quotations which John ascribed to Plutarch's *Institutio Trajani*. This work, as the author has demonstrated, was a creature of John's own imagination, a sort of precursor of More's *Utopia*. The author has also demonstrated the importance of the siege of Toulouse in connection with the troubles of Henry II and the church. He has likewise called attention to the influence of John's association with Pope Eugenius III. Further exploration of John's intimacy with Bernard of Clairvaux might have yielded evidence of even more powerful influence. Perhaps the author has overemphasized the effect of John's *Policraticus* in determining Thomas à Becket's stiff resistance to Henry after becoming archbishop of Canterbury. He may well be pardoned for lingering chiefly on John's period of exile and ascribing to John the comforts of Ovid's *Tristia amoris* in which he, too, as another exile, must have found some

comfort. But the reviewer cannot refrain from expressing his regret that the author did not continue his study of John's humanism through to the end of John's career as bishop of the diocese in which he had pursued his classical studies. He also regrets that the author did not probe more fully into John's use of the phrase, "*otium sine litteris mors est*."

University of Minnesota

A. C. KREY

AN ARAB PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY: SELECTIONS FROM THE PROLEGOMENA OF IBN KHALDUN OF TUNIS (1332-1406). Translated and Arranged by *Charles Issawi*, Formerly Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford; Adjunct Professor of Political Science, American University of Beirut. [The Wisdom of the East Series, No. 100.] (London: John Murray; New York: Transatlantic Arts. 1950. Pp. xiv, 190. \$1.50.)

THE work of Ibn Khaldūn, the Tunisian historian and philosopher who, in the words of Toynbee, "has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been created by any mind in any time or place" is still largely unknown to the English-reading public. Those who are not in a position to read the Arabic original of his *Muqaddima* or *Prolegomena*, his introduction to his voluminous *Universal History*, or the French translation of the *Muqaddima*, by de Slane, are deprived of a real understanding and appreciation of one of the world's greatest authors and thinkers. There is no doubt that an English translation of his *Muqaddima* in its complete form is an urgent task and a challenging one for Arabic scholarship, and it is satisfying to know that such a translation is in the process of being carried out. Years may, however, pass before such a publication, which must be based on a critical investigation of all extant manuscripts of the text, will be available.

It is therefore highly to be commended that Charles Issawi, adjunct professor of political science at the American University at Beirut, author of a well-balanced book on *Egypt* (Oxford University Press, 1947) and other studies pertaining to Islamic civilization, has presented us, in translation, with a selection from the *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn's views on many aspects of human society, history, and culture. The translator's aim of introducing to English-speaking readers "the greatest figure in the Social Sciences, between the time of Aristotle and that of Machiavelli" (p. 2) has been most satisfactorily accomplished.

Ibn Khaldūn's major ideas and conceptions are grouped by Mr. Issawi under various headings and subheadings which are, as a whole, happily chosen. After an introduction, which gives a short outline of Ibn Khaldūn's exciting life and his various activities in the West and in the East, the translator arranges his material in chapters headed "Methods," "Geography," "Economics," "Public Finance," "Population," "Society and State," "Religion and Politics," "Knowledge and Society," and "Theory of Being and Theory of Knowledge" (pp. 164-79). A num-

ber of useful notes accompany the translation, and a short bibliography and an index are appended.

The editor has based his translation on the Arabic text of Quatremère and of the Beirut and Cairo editions and apparently has also made use of the French translation by de Slane. Everyone who has dealt with Ibn Khaldūn's own writings and has experienced the difficulties of his style and vocabulary can appreciate Mr. Issawi's efforts. He has solved most of the ambiguities of Ibn Khaldūn's style and has offered as a whole an exact translation or interpretation of the carefully selected portions from Ibn Khaldūn's work.

The reviewer would suggest, however, that in a second edition the material presented under "Geography" be divided into two subheadings, perhaps Physical Geography and Human Geography, or Ethnology, since a great deal of the material grouped under "Geography" can hardly be classified as such. The biographical sketch contains a few inaccuracies which should be corrected on the basis of the new manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's complete *Autobiography*.

Helpful as the index is, the omission of *'Asabiya* or its English equivalent, "Social solidarity"—one of the most fundamental concepts of Ibn Khaldūn's philosophy—is rather strange. Furthermore, *As Sakḥakī* should certainly be listed not under *A* but under *S*, just as other entries disregard the Arabic article.

Despite these few shortcomings, we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Issawi for the service he has rendered, not only to those interested in the Arabic and Islamic world but to the student of political, economic, and sociological ideas in general, in giving us, for the first time in English, a panorama of the wide range of knowledge and the original concepts imbedded in Ibn Khaldūn's *Prolegomena*.

University of California, Berkeley

WALTER J. FISCHEL

## Modern European History

HERE I STAND: A LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER. By *Roland H. Bainton*. (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 1950. Pp. 422. \$4.75.)

LUTHER AND HIS TIMES: THE REFORMATION FROM A NEW PERSPECTIVE. By *E. G. Schwiebert*, Professor of History, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House. 1950. Pp. xxii, 892. \$10.00.)

MARTIN LUTHER: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By *Hartmann Grisar*, S.J., Professor at the University of Innsbruck. Adapted from the Second German Edition by *Frank J. Eble*. Edited by *Arthur Preuss*. (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press. 1950. Pp. x, 609. \$4.75.)

THESE books sent me back to Carl Becker's presidential address, "Everyman His Own Historian," published in the January, 1932, number of this *Review*. It treats

of the historical "fact," so dear to Ranke, and of its "interpretation," which tends to change from generation to generation. The history that one writes, then, seems to be a sort of psycho-chemical product of the "fact" in its setting and of one's own *Weltanschauung*.

Grisar's book was originally published in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1926. The English translation—a free one—came out in 1930 (Herder, St. Louis), and the 1950 edition is a photographic reproduction of it, even to the obvious mistranslation, on page 150, on the nature of the real presence under a single form. Grisar is as learned as and more subtle than his great forerunner, Denifle, whose volumes, *Luther und Luthertum*, published over the first decade of this century, made a formidable frontal assault on the Protestant position.

Grisar's own attack develops slowly, with tactics of a high order. He criticizes adversely many Catholic controversialists, writes frankly of ecclesiastical abuses, and praises Luther for this and that. His book "is chiefly concerned with a lucid presentation of the development of Luther, of his mental constitution and the interior impulses which moved him throughout his life" (preface). His broad conclusion is that Luther was a psychopath and a liar: "The author has collected a veritable arsenal of untrue assertions made by Luther, especially against the 'papists,' in his larger work on Luther [*Luther*, English translation in six volumes (Herder, 1913-17)], in which he has also offered a psychological explanation of the strange phenomenon of Luther's mendacity and tried to give an insight into the infectious results of his lying" (p. 527).

Schwiebert is an ardent American Lutheran, bred in Reformation history at Cornell by Burr and Preserved Smith. He is familiar by residence and study in Germany, and by converse with Luther specialists there, with the best that has been done in recent years in the Lutheran field. His handling of medieval and general European history of the sixteenth century does, to be sure, betray occasional weaknesses. For example: England continued to pay its feudal dues to the papacy until Henry VIII's reign (p. 16); Boniface VIII was dragged "from the cathedra" by Nogaret (p. 22); the liberation of the captive Francis I by Charles V involved the "imprisonment" of his two young sons, held as hostages (p. 53); Copernicus in developing his heliocentric theory was "merely speculating on the veracity of the late Greek astronomic language" (p. 136). He objects to the term "Protestant Revolt" on the strange ground that it implies that the Roman Catholic Church is the only true church (p. 8). But when he gets down to Luther and the Lutheran movement he shows his mastery. His big volume, with its history of Saxony, of the town of Wittenberg, of the university and its "physical plant," curriculums, and staff, offers the reader the most comprehensive Protestant account of the Lutheran revolt in English. (Nevertheless, his informative study of student registrations in the university does not, in my opinion, justify the publisher's statement, echoed on the title page, that there "emerged a new perspective of the great Reformer.")

Bainton, professor of ecclesiastical history at Yale, B.D. and Ph.D. Yale, is a

Congregationalist. He is a productive scholar in his field, and in his prefatory acknowledgments in this latest book he tenders Martin Luther's thanks to three of the author's helpful colleagues at Yale. His book, in comparison with the other two, is a slender one, similar to A. C. McGiffert's charming *Martin Luther: The Man and His Work* (New York, 1911). The title *Here I Stand* is somehow unhappy, since it tends to give renewed currency to the words attributed to Luther at Worms, which historical scholarship has long since definitively excluded from the canon of the great address. But his life of Luther is most skillfully organized and integrated. His chapters on "The Church Territorial" and "The Church Ministerial" are indeed brilliant.

The contrasts of the three volumes *inter se* can only be sparsely illustrated here. "The great revolt against the medieval Church arose," says Bainton, "from a desperate attempt [by Luther] to follow the way by her prescribed" (pp. 35-36). Grisar says: "His qualms of conscience are closely related to the neurotic precordial fear from which he frequently suffered" (p. 98); "the fiction thus concocted was intended to be a blow to the Catholic Church and a vindication of his agitated life" (p. 565).

All three biographers agree that Luther used coarse, vindictive, and violent language. Grisar remarks in one place that "it is not true that he found low pleasure in sexual matters" (p. 259); but, on a later page, he says that in following "the utterances of Luther on marriage and sexual matters" one is ever and anon "repelled by the vulgarity of his language and his sensuality" (p. 514). Bainton's conclusion is that "Luther delighted less in muck than many of the literary men of his age. . . . The volume of coarseness . . . in his total output is slight" (p. 298). Schwiebert agrees (p. 580).

Luther's specific words of refusal to "recant his errors" at the Diet of Worms are not given in full by Grisar (p. 185) or by Bainton (p. 185). Schwiebert cites them correctly (pp. 504-505), as does McGiffert (p. 203). The legality of the Edict of Worms, signed by Charles V after many of the princes had departed, is challenged by Schwiebert (pp. 509 ff.) and implicitly questioned by Bainton (pp. 186 ff.). Yet "before Luther arrived in Worms," as Grisar points out, "the diet had left it to the Emperor to proclaim . . . the sentence of outlawry in the event of Luther's refusal to recant" (p. 190). McGiffert is in agreement: the "proclamation [of outlawry] was entirely in order" (p. 208).

How far was Luther implicated in the great Peasants' Revolt? "A movement so religiously-minded" (see "The Twelve Articles"), says Bainton, "could not but be affected by the Reformation. Luther's freedom of the Christian man was purely religious but could very readily be given a social turn"; "a complete dissociation of the reform from the Peasants' War is not defensible" (pp. 270-73). Grisar goes farther: "It would be unhistorical to throw the entire responsibility for the gigantic movement upon Luther. Nevertheless it cannot be gainsaid that the ideas and preachers of the new movement were intimately connected with it. The doctrine of evangelical liberty played the principal rôle" (p. 279).



Katherine von Bora, the estimable wife of Luther, engages the attention of all three biographers. Grisar thinks her forward and ambitious: "She spurned other alliances. . . . Either Luther or Amsdorf, she said, would be her husband" (p. 294). Bainton, a great admirer of hers—he dedicates his book "To my Katherine von Bora"—suggests that when she said she would take Amsdorf himself or Luther, she wanted to show that in rejecting Professor Glatz she was not unreasonable, and named these two "presumably because they were out of the question, since beyond the customary age for marriage. Luther was forty-two" (p. 288). Katherine was twenty-six. Schwiebert's study of Katherine is most informative (pp. 583 ff.).

All three authors praise Luther's translation of the Bible. Grisar says: "The linguistic excellence of this German version . . . is so undisputed . . . that we need not print any words of appreciation of it here" (p. 421). But it "was rather a piece of subjective propaganda put forth in the interests of his own party" (p. 428). Bainton would concede a tiny bit of this: "Yet occasionally an overly Pauline turn is discernible" (p. 332); "reading the Old Testament in this fashion Luther could not well escape Christianizing shades of meaning"; "Luther's liberties were greatest with the Psalms. . . . They were the record of the spiritual struggles through which he was constantly passing" (pp. 334-35). Schwiebert admits no liberties taken with the text, unless they can be read into his final words on the translation: "It was the task of the translator to understand thoroughly the divine message in the original language and then to express the same thoughts in the language of the people. The final Luther Bible, therefore, was not, nor was it meant to be, a literal translation; rather, Biblical values had been translated into 16th-century German values" (p. 661).

The "facts" about Luther and the Lutheran Reformation are, broadly speaking, no longer in doubt; but the "interpretations" continue to diverge. To Grisar the movement spells the partial and progressive destruction of true religion and the ruin of social order and progress. To Schwiebert and Bainton it signifies the restoration of true religion and the possibility of genuine social advance. The program of Erasmus for the simplification of dogma and stress on conduct in imitation of Christ "without tumult"—a proposal to "bore from within"—does not win the support of any one of the three. McGiffert goes farther; he is certain that Luther alone made advance possible: Luther "was fighting to maintain the thing that chiefly mattered—assurance of peace and salvation apart from pope and papal church. This assurance alone made the coming of the modern age possible" (pp. 383-84).

All three books have good bibliographies and indexes. Grisar's volume has no illustrations, Bainton's has many, and Schwiebert's more and better. Grisar's footnotes are genuine footnotes; the other two relegate them to the rear, where painstaking search may find what is wanted.

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G. C. SELLERY



L'APOTEOSI DI REUCHLIN (APOTHEOSIS CAPNIONIS) DI ERASMO DA ROTTERDAM. Saggio introduttivo ai *Colloqui*, testo e traduzione, a cura di Giulio Vallese. (Naples: Pironti. 1949. Pp. 143.)

PROFESSOR Vallese's volume is indicative of a brisk resumption (or, shall we say, unprecedented efflorescence?) of Erasmian studies in Italy. The torpor into which such researches had lapsed was remarked upon, fifteen years ago, by Professor Toffanin, in the first edition of his *Cinquecento* (Milan, 1935; p. 29); since then, the situation has changed completely. Active factors in this mutation were the efforts of Toffanin himself, who devotes what is probably the most exciting section of his *La fine del Logos* (1948) to a "speaking and breathing" characterization of the Dutch humanist; previous or concomitant were the contributions of Delio Cantimori (*Erasmo e l'Italia*, in *Studi Germanici* [1937] II), Rocco Montano (*Follia e saggezza nel Furioso e nell'Elogio di Erasmo*, Naples, 1942), and N. Petruzzellis (*Erasmo pensatore*, Bari, 1948). The impulse has far from spent itself, as attested by the proceedings of the constitutional assembly of the Sodalitas Erasmiana (*Atti della Sodalitas Erasmiana*, Naples, 1950), and by the announcement of the appearance of an Italian translation, by a Turinese scholar, of Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*.

The volume under review is conceptually connected with Professor Vallese's article entitled "Interpretazione d'Erasmo" (*Italia che scrive*, September, 1948). In the brief span of the 103 pages of his introductory essay, Professor Vallese manages to deal with the typical features and the limits of Erasmus' *Colloquia*, their history, editions, influence, sources, translations, and significance; he discusses humanism and the church in Germany in the early sixteenth century, Greek and Hebrew studies and the German milieu at the time of the Reuchlinian controversy, the main stages of that debate, the principal writings spawned by it, Erasmus' letter to Hogstraten, and Erasmus' attitude, vis à vis Reuchlin, friars, theologasters, and reformers. To top it all, we are given a comprehensive account of the biographical, intellectual, and sentimental presuppositions of the *Apotheosis Capnionis*, an analysis and identification of the figures of that dialogue, and an appreciation of its meaning: a truly exceptional feat of compression and synthesis! Throughout, Professor Vallese maintains a steady balance between the factual and the *geistesgeschichtlich*.

Most interesting is the account of Erasmus' contacts with Italy (pp. 28-29). According to Vallese, a more exact evaluation of Erasmus would be encompassed by a comparison between the *Colloquia* and the *Dialoghi* (Venice, 1524) of Nicolò Leònico Tomèo (1446-1531). It is probable that Erasmus drew from them. On the other hand, Erasmus' *Colloquia* influenced N. Franco, Folengo, Tansillo, and (who would have expected this?) Giambattista Marino (1569-1625), whose *Disputa amorosa* is a plagiarism from Erasmus' *Proci et puellae*. It is undoubted that Giordano Bruno felt the impact of Erasmus: the character of Manfurio in Bruno's *Il Candelaio*, one of the highlights of Renaissance satire upon pedants,

is patterned (but "with how different an ambiguity and verbal violence," points out Vallese) after the figure of Nosoponus in the *Ciceronianus*. I may add that Luigi Barni, in his study of the relationships between Andrea Alciati (1492–1550) and the Reformation, emphasizes the debt to Erasmus of Alciati's *Contra vitam monasticam* (see *Rivista di storia del diritto italiano*, XXI, 1948).

Professor Vallese convicts of erroneousness the historical slogan *Ubi Erasmus innuit, Lutherus irruit*, on the strength of the argument, factually unimpeachable, that Erasmus put up a strong opposition to Luther's fanaticism and fought against the latter's irreverence for the *bonae literae*. On the other hand, the grain of truth in that slogan is contained in the circumstance that, as Paul Wernle notes, the germs of biblical criticism (*amorcés* by Valla), the rudiments of the criticism of the holy texts and of the canon, the embryos of philological exegesis, of the critique of dogmas and sacraments, are all to be found in Erasmus. Coornhert, Grotius, the Arminians, Richard Simon, Spinoza, and the theologians of the Dutch, English, and German Enlightenment are his lineal descendants. And yet one cannot but feel that Professor Vallese is right in claiming that it is upon Erasmus that the heritage of Italian "devout" humanism, from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from Petrarch to Valla, from Ficino to Ermolao Barbaro, devolves. The coexistence of the two *Erasmus-Bilder*, equally supportable by reciprocally conflicting evidence, is eloquent of the chameleon-like, protean quality of the Erasmian genius.

The following references seem appropriate to round out the bibliographical note on pages 139–41: E. Gothein, "Das Bild Reuchlins," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XLVIII, 1881; P. Drews, *Pirckheimers Stellung zur Reformation*, 1887; *Pforzheimer Säkularschrift*, 1922; Supplements to Reuchlin's *Correspondence*, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 1922, pp. 249–330; K. Christ, *Die Bibliothek Reuchlins*, 1924; J. Haller, *Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen*, 2 vols, 1927–29, pp. 239 ff.; Reicke, *E. W. Pirckheimer*, 1930; F. Ernst, *Graf Eberhard im Bart*, 1933; G. M. Loehr, *Die Kölner Dominikanerschule des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, 1948.

Vallese's translation of the *Apotheosis* is fresh, idiomatic, modern, and endowed with a superior fidelity to the spirit, not the letter, of the original, much of the eloquence of which he has felicitously toned down.

Washington, D. C.

ELIO GIANTURCO

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVEREIGNTY IN ENGLAND: FROM THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE PETITION OF RIGHT.

By George L. Mosse, Associate Professor of History, State University of Iowa. (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1950. Pp. vi, 191. \$2.50.)

*The Struggle for Sovereignty in England* follows hard on the heels of Miss Margaret Judson's *The Crisis of the Constitution* (1949; see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1950). The practically simultaneous appearance of these two books testi-

fies to continuing interest in the great constitutional struggle of early seventeenth century England and to the relevance of that struggle for our own times.

Mr. Mosse's book traces the evolution of constitutional ideas from the reign of Elizabeth to the Petition of Right. Chapters dealing with "the king as sovereign," "the sovereignty of parliament," "common law and sovereignty" follow a preliminary examination of "the Tudor tradition" and the English reception of Bodin's idea of sovereignty. Unlike many historians of political theory, Mr. Mosse utilizes sermons, pamphlets, parliamentary speeches, and judicial opinions, as well as formal political treatises.

His theme is the breakdown of the medieval concept of limited government and the emergence of the modern idea of sovereignty during the reign of James I. Already in the Tudor period medieval natural law, which secured individual rights and refused absolute power to either king or Parliament, was giving way to a "law of reason" which vested sovereignty in the "king in Parliament." Hence, Bodin's theory came as no shock to Englishmen who read the *Republic*. In fact, in both France and England, the theorists soon surpassed Bodin's famous definition. Bodin balanced *souveraineté* with *droit gouvernement*. But in the heat of the conflict between king and Parliament, theorists on both sides tended to drop the *droit* which hedged the sovereign around with limitations. Mr. Mosse distinguishes three main types of constitutional thought in the early seventeenth century: the royalist, which twisted the term "prerogative" to mean not simply "pre-eminence" but the supreme power of lawgiving and judging; the parliamentarian, which assigned to the king in Parliament *potestas suprema*, including the right to change the possession of property; and the legal (Coke and the common lawyers). Of these three groups, only the last, by its concept of "legal reason" inhering in an independent judiciary, opposed the idea of a supreme power in the state. In their quest for sovereignty, both king and Parliament violated the medieval tradition of natural law. And even Coke, perhaps because he feared that the king posed the greater threat to English liberties, "in the end sided with Parliament while trying to preserve the traditional concept of the constitution" (p. 171).

Perhaps Mr. Mosse's account is a little one-sided. He might have emphasized, as Miss Judson does, the common core of political agreement among Englishmen of all types right up to the outbreak of civil war. In the discussion of the Elizabethan period, I think he might have considered Thomas Cartwright and the Presbyterians, whose two-kingdom theory definitely rejected the sort of sovereignty described in Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*. But Mr. Mosse tells an important story, and he tells it well. It is the story of the emergence of the modern state. Implicit in this story is the gradual secularization of political thought. For in the seventeenth century Parliament displaced supernatural law as the shield of individual rights.

SCOTTISH DEMOCRACY, 1815-1840: THE SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND. By *Laurance James Saunders*, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Edinburgh. (London: Oliver and Boyd. 1950. Pp. 444. 21s.)

In his introduction Professor Saunders indicates that this book is the first of several projected volumes in which he intends to re-examine the traditional concept of Scottish democracy in the nineteenth century. Here he is concerned specifically with the social and intellectual background in the period between 1815 and 1840, and it appears that he contemplates a future study of the reforming movements of the mid-century. Possibly, though this is nowhere explicitly stated, he envisages a concluding volume on Scotland in the latter part of the century when Scottish democracy achieved its most notable political expression in the Liberal party of Gladstone. There is, however, little about politics in the present volume. Democracy is defined in terms not so much of political power as of social status and economic opportunity. Professor Saunders is concerned with describing the social and institutional framework which molded Scottish life in the early nineteenth century and with suggesting some of the difficulties which faced the people in the first generation after Waterloo. The book is primarily descriptive. It is only secondarily analytical of Scottish problems.

Even so, this is a broad subject to tackle, and it is not surprising that Professor Saunders should have been deliberately selective in his treatment. Three main areas have been examined. First of all, the development of new methods of farming with their varying impact upon local conditions has been described in some detail. Second, the question of urban expansion and the creation of an urban way of life is considered. Finally, the field of education is surveyed with special attention being devoted to the capacity of Scottish education for producing moral and intellectual leadership. The most conspicuous omission from this selection is the Scottish church. The immense significance of the ecclesiastical establishment is certainly brought out incidentally, but it is a little surprising that the church was not judged worthy of separate treatment. Possibly it has been reserved for future consideration.

Extensive use of original sources has enabled the writer to present a picture of Scottish conditions which is clear and vigorous, and certain involved topics, like that of landed rights and responsibilities, have been treated with a model lucidity. The text, however, is not overburdened with minutiae, and an admirable brevity has been achieved throughout. This very brevity indeed has its own drawbacks. Some of the local areas of Scotland are given much more detailed attention than others. In particular there is a heavy concentration upon Edinburgh and its immediate vicinity. The description of this area in fact accounts for the best parts of the book. There is a fascinating picture of farm life in the Lothians, and in the city itself the development of the New Town is vividly contrasted with the increasing squalor of the Old. Of more than academic interest, also, is the ac-

count of the politics of Edinburgh University where professors struggled for fees, a corrupt town council undertook an irregular interference, and both joined together only to oppose the intervention of the crown.

On the analytical side some attempt has been made to outline certain of the problems—social problems for the most part—which confronted Scotland at this time, and in the course of his analysis Professor Saunders has drawn attention to certain aspects of Scottish life which are of considerable significance for the future development of the democratic theme which is his ultimate concern. He has noticed the waning independence of the skilled agricultural workers and of such groups as the miners, and he has touched upon the bourgeois liberalism of the small towns. As yet, however, no general conclusions have been drawn. We have here an unfinished story which should gain interest as the tale is unfolded. In the meantime we are left with some very valuable descriptions and with a number of suggestive possibilities which await development.

*California Institute of Technology*

DAVID C. ELLIOT

QUAKERS IN SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY: BEING AN ACCOUNT OF  
THE QUAKER CONTRIBUTIONS TO SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY  
DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.  
By *Arthur Raistrick*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. 361. \$6.00.)

IF one were to take almost any random peculiarity—say tallness or red-headedness—one could no doubt prove that it characterized a number of quite remarkable people. Yet, this fact would hardly justify a book, for example, on “Redheads in Science and Industry, 1650–1800.” Is there, then, any valid reason for such a book on Quakers? The author contends that there is. According to him, Quakerism not only contributed a considerable number of leaders in science and industry but it did so to a degree out of all proportion to its percentage of the population, and moreover, it did so because of the Quaker faith and environment.

The theory runs something like this. The early Quakers, who were predominantly of the yeoman and artisan class rather than the gentry or the poor, found themselves subject to disabilities and scruples which excluded them from certain occupations and so forced them into others. Their religious views kept them out of the professions at first, though they went into medicine later. The church, the army, the slave trade were all closed to them. The persecutions which they experienced helped to unite them into compact local groups and to strengthen their connections with each other throughout the country.

In trade and manufacture, they found their peculiarities had special virtues. Their reputation for truth and sobriety paid dividends, their constant journeyings provided not only religious comfort but business information and opportunities for advantageous combinations, the endogamic marriage system kept wealth from marrying out of the sect, and Quaker disapproval of luxurious living led to a gratifying accumulation of productive capital.

In consequence of these advantages and disadvantages, Quakers actively and successfully played leading parts in several lines of industry and science. In the iron industry they established strong, enterprising family concerns, such as the Darby firm at Coalbrookdale and the firm of the Lloyds of Dolobran in Wales. The Quaker Lead Company achieved a dominant position in lead production. Aggressive pioneering with new processes contributed to these and other successes. The Darby coking process, the Huntsman crucible steel process, the improvements in lead smelting, the experiments of the Cranages in puddling are only a few instances among many. In science, the Quaker contribution was not so outstanding but it was considerable. In banking, the Gurneys, the Lloyds, the Barclays, and others were only too successful, bringing in luxury and worldliness which sapped the virgin strength of unsullied "Truth."

This is the story and it makes a fascinating and valuable book. In the main, it must be accepted. At the same time, we can see that the Quaker author, from long contemplation of the sectarian aspect, has got things a little out of proportion. The Society of Friends was not perhaps as outstanding as is suggested. The friendly (mutual insurance) society described on page 178 was hardly "one of the earliest," as Hasbach showed long ago. Ambrose Crowley (II) was a member of Parliament and hence as such not a Quaker, but his "disownment" is only mentioned in a footnote (p. 176) after credit is earlier taken for him as a Quaker (p. 110, see also p. 201). In view of the tone of the book, it comes almost as a surprise to discover that there were paupers and sailors among the Quakers. Even more astonishing, incidentally, is the assertion that "Dixieland," named after the Quaker Dixon of Mason-Dixon line fame, is located north of that line.

One is tempted to ask whether the early members of the sect did not take up Quakerism because they already possessed the qualities which made for worldly success—that is, whether Quakerism and success did not result originally from the same cause. John Gurney (p. 76) and the Hanbury family (p. 146) are cases in point. If so, the special merit of Quakerism in the present connection lay chiefly in its ability to perpetuate those qualities through several generations.

*Brown University*

CHESTER KIRBY

HISTOIRE DE LA FRANCE POUR TOUS LES FRANÇAIS. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À 1774. By *Edouard Perroy*, *Roger Doucet*, and *André Latreille*. Volume II, DE 1774 À NOS JOURS. By *Georges Lefebvre*, *Charles H. Pouthas*, and *Maurice Baumont*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1950. Pp. 507; 512. 750 fr. ea.)

THIS history of France from the earliest times to the present has the earmarks of a college textbook and the limitations of a study intended to please everyone. On the title page it is asserted, quite rightfully, that co-operative authorship allows



each section to be written by a specialist, but the obvious effort to omit anything that might prove controversial somewhat vitiates the advantage gained by the competence of the authors.

The limitations imposed by an attempt to write a history "*pour tous les Français*" do not become so apparent in the first volume (to 1774) as they do in the second. Indeed this first volume is a reasonably satisfactory summary of French history from the time of the cave men to Louis XVI. Its limited space has precluded any serious attempt to do more than present a political outline of the period, but it has done this rather well. In the second volume, however, the self-imposed limitations become progressively more disturbing as the story approaches modern times. Professor Georges Lefebvre's account of the Revolution and the Empire is the best part of this second volume, but it is narrowly factual and colorless. The section written by Professor Maurice Baumont (1878-1947) is a striking example of what happens when a historian deliberately attempts to avoid interpretation or information that might disturb his reader's social or political mythology. History then becomes meaningless chronology, devoid of interest and significance as well as of controversy. This section seems to be conclusive evidence that the "facts" of history do not speak for themselves; the historian must be responsible for their presentation.

Obviously it is impossible in this review to discuss every chapter. The one on the war of 1914-18, however, will serve to illustrate the basic criticism of the last part of this book. This chapter contains about 10,000 words. Of these, 1,000 are devoted to the unsuccessful Dardanelles campaign, 54 to the Russian Revolution and its effect on the war, 143 to the entry and the role of the United States in the war, 116 to the intrigue of Sexte de Bourbon and Emperor Charles. Obviously counting words is a highly unsatisfactory method of analyzing a document, but it does give an indication of the author's scale of values. After reading this chapter, the student who knows nothing about the war of 1914-18 will have gained no understanding of the process of modern warfare or of the political structure of the twentieth century or of the status of France in the modern world. If he is alert he will have a chronology, but even this will mislead him, for the writer has given no indication of the relative importance of events.

This sweeping criticism of the latter section of this history should not obscure the fact that the earlier part of the book is competently written. Perhaps it is easier for a French historian to write about the more distant past without offending his readers. Perhaps the Lavissee volumes have provided the solid and more or less uncontroversial frame of the story of the earlier period so that the task is simplified to minor corrections of an established account. In any case the young Frenchman who reads this book will have a better idea of the history of his land before the birth of his great grandfather than he will of the period after that event.

University of Minnesota

JOHN B. WOLF



LA PHYSIOCRATIE SOUS LES MINISTÈRES DE TURGOT ET DE NECKER (1774-1781). By *Georges Weulersse*. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1950. Pp. xvi, 371.)

THIS posthumous volume is a noble monument to the lifetime researches of a great scholar. In 1910, forty years before its publication, the late Georges Weulersse made his mark with his now classic two-volume study of the rise and growth of the physiocratic movement from 1756 to 1770. At the time of his death he left manuscripts virtually ready for publication which cover the years of physiocracy's decline and fall. The present volume dealing with the ministries of Turgot and Necker will be followed by two more: one covering the years from the heyday of the movement in 1770 to 1774, and the other from 1781, where this volume leaves off, to the beginnings of the Revolution.

The study is divided into two parts of unequal length, the larger part treating the ministry of Turgot, the other that of Necker. Within each part the chapter pattern is the same: the author takes up the school and the party; the agrarian program; the commercial program; the politics and philosophy of physiocracy; attacks on and defense of the doctrine. As a school and a party physiocracy slowly disintegrated: its half-victory with Turgot turned into a catastrophe with his downfall, and, by the end of Necker's ministry, the inner organizational ties were completely loosened. In outlook, the major spokesmen, the marquis of Mirabeau, Mercier de la Rivière, Dupont de Nemours, Baudeau, adhered pretty closely to the orthodox doctrine as Quesnay had largely formulated it in the preceding years. Where the contour of their thinking was changed, Weulersse carefully traces the modification. Essentially they remained, despite their lack of success, or perhaps because their cause was a losing one, what they had been in the days of their glory, clear-headed, articulate, opinionated champions of a certain kind of capitalist production. Moreover, the great debate over their claims continued. They were vigorously disputed, and as before taunted, and also as before were most bitterly attacked for that part of their doctrine which sacrificed the welfare of the unprotected masses to the interests of the new governing class of large landed proprietors. Not all, not even the majority of those who criticized them on the last ground, did so out of social sympathy for the propertyless masses. The administration rejected their panacea of higher prices and consequent great tax yield out of political considerations: fear that such developments would drive the masses to an uprising of despair.

This closely argued, relentlessly informative, and learned study is a work of capital importance that will surely become an indispensable work of reference, something for the specialist to have close by and consult when required. From it an attentive reader will get first, an orderly, lucid, and critical presentation and evaluation of the doctrine itself. The reader will also get the rebuttal of their argument, in the words of their critics, and again with an evaluation on the part of the author. Those claims and counterclaims are not presented abstractly as

links in a chain of speculation. They are examined historically in their relationship to particular events or moments of historical development. Herein lies the chief value of the study and its originality, in the re-examination of a crucial moment of eighteenth century French history from the angle of vision of one of the most vigorous doctrines of the age.

It is regrettable that the editors did not make use of a few simple technical devices to help the conscientious reader from getting bogged down in the meticulous details of the argument. Perhaps in preparing the next two volumes for the press they will consider either having a brief introduction to each chapter or a brief summary at the end—or perhaps both. Nor would a general conclusion to each volume be amiss. Finally, may one look forward in the two promised volumes to the appearance of the analytical index that Professor Conan's foreword says he found in the manuscript? Certainly an index for this volume would have been a great boon.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

LA DIPLOMATIE FRANÇAISE D'HENRI IV À VERGENNES. By *Pierre Rain*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1945. Pp. 344.)

LA DIPLOMATIE FRANÇAISE DE MIRABEAU À BONAPARTE. By *Pierre Rain*. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1950. Pp. 258.)

THE same publisher who issued in 1950 a twenty-third edition of the classic *L'Europe et la Révolution française* by Albert Sorel is also publishing Rain's volumes on French diplomatic history. Pierre Rain has had a long career in historical circles and has been professor of diplomatic history at the Institut des études politiques since 1938. After a lapse of twenty years since his early publications, Rain published *L'Europe de Versailles* and the first volume of his diplomatic history in 1945. Now, the volume on the Revolution is out, and one on Napoleon is in preparation. Although Rain is undoubtedly familiar with the voluminous literature of French diplomacy, the historian could wish that he had written a bibliographical note for each volume. Except for sparse references to diplomatic instructions, memoirs of diplomats, and secondary authorities, there is no indication that Rain's interpretation results from newly available documents or studies. Since the two classics on French diplomacy, Bourgeois and Sorel, also lacked this scholarly apparatus, it is the more regrettable that Rain has not provided a guide to the bibliography of diplomatic history, with citations of new monographs.

Despite this omission, the two volumes can be of great service to American scholars. Unlike Bourgeois and Sorel, Rain integrates the diplomacy of other European countries with that of France. Although France always occupies the center of the stage, the general European scene is clear, and the point of view impartial and critical. There is a tacit assumption that the primacy of France was always the goal of its diplomacy, with express advocacy of opportunism to

achieve this goal. Periodic departure from opportunism was detrimental to French purposes. During the two centuries covered, France first aimed to achieve linguistic unity under its aegis. Expansionism by Louis XIV beyond these frontiers resulted in arousing German hostility along the Rhine, thereby preparing later German unification, and in the replacement of French preponderance by English after 1713. While French cultural influence remained dominant, her diplomatic position suffered ups and downs during the complicated dynastic problems of the eighteenth century and fluctuated between a pro-Prussian and a pro-Austrian policy. By 1789, the weakened position of her allies, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, the severe defeat of 1763 which enhanced English power only partially balanced by French participation in the American War of Independence, and concern with internal affairs, relegated France to an unimportant European role. Europe did not foresee the recovery of France with its new Revolutionary dynamism. The early Revolution was pacifist and missed a linguistic opportunity during the Belgian revolt of 1788-89. Despite the renunciation of war, diplomatic methods did not change. Gradually the pacific policy changed to a war spirit to which Mirabeau contributed before his death by his anti-British policy and the Girondists by their anti-Austrian propaganda. Periodically, the Revolutionaries would attempt to appease England or Prussia to alleviate a crisis. Danton expressed the new Revolutionary foreign policy at the end of January, 1793, when the war had spread by French declaration following the execution of Louis XVI. The keynotes of the new diplomacy were the doctrine of natural frontiers, self-determination, and the liberation of oppressed peoples. A new crisis developed in the spring of 1793, from which Rain says that the neutrality of Russia and the second partition of Poland saved the Revolution. The more drastic policy of "*vaincre ou mourir*" of Robespierre replaced the conciliatory leadership of Danton in July, 1793, and by successive victories culminated in the battle of Fleurus after which there was no longer need of the Terror. By 1795, France had achieved her natural frontiers, but in 1796, as after the Dutch war in the time of Louis XIV, turned to expansionism and aggression. Rain gives full credit to Napoleon for the treaty of Campo Formio, but denies him credit for the defeat of the European coalition in 1799. The new era of expansionism was initiated under the banner of the Rights of Man.

In the course of his narrative, Rain places less emphasis than Bourgeois or Sorel on diplomatic technique and the balance of power, and more emphasis on the influence of successive leaders of French foreign policy, the role of small German states and of Holland, the importance of France's traditional allies, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, in French policy toward Russia and Austria, and the rapid recovery of diplomatic primacy by France after periods of marked decline. Rain calls attention to the need of a good study of the ministry of Choiseul, which should throw new light on the era between 1758 and 1770. Like the volumes by Bourgeois and Sorel, these volumes are straight diplomatic history and do not use twentieth century works on economic development as a

factor in diplomacy. They do provide a smooth narrative for the general historian and innumerable controversial interpretations for the specialist. Rain should be complimented on the summary chapters and the skillful synthesis of the complicated threads of European diplomacy from Henry IV through the rise of Napoleon.

*Hunter College*

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

DIE FRANZÖSISCHE REVOLUTION. By *Octave Aubry*. Volume II, DIE REPUBLIK. (Zurich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1948. Pp. 592. Fr. 14, Leinen Fr. 19.)

THIS is the second volume of the German translation of Octave Aubry's projected four-volume history of the French Revolution. As indicated in the present writer's review of Volume I (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, LV [October, 1949], 118-19), the first two volumes of the original appeared in 1942 and 1945 respectively, while the Swiss-German equivalents were published in 1948.

Whereas the first volume dealt with "The Fall of the Monarchy," from the opening of the Estates General to the overthrow of the Girondins, this one is devoted to "The Republic," from the beginning of the Jacobin phase of the Convention to the close of the Directory in the coup of 18-19 Brumaire. Apart from the content, what was said in the aforementioned review is equally applicable here. The organization is much the same—five "books" and thirty chapters. The presentation is comparable—with emphasis on colorful incidents and personalities. The documentation is similar—fairly extensive, but based, for the most part, upon traditional sources, and with slight reference to recent researches. Even the omissions are the same—again both bibliography and index are lacking; though, as indicated in the review of Volume I, it may have been the author's intention to include these in the final volume. As might be expected, the translator is the same—Hans Kauders; and, as before, the reviewer's lack of skill as a German scholar precludes the possibility of giving a professional evaluation of the quality or effectiveness of the translation. The volumes are identical in format.

It is indeed regrettable that such an eloquent writer failed to achieve a more balanced treatment of his subject. The constitution of 1793, whatever its defects, was a high point in the development of the French democratic tradition; yet it is passed over hurriedly. Economic and social trends were of special significance during the periods under discussion; yet they, too, receive slight attention. The accomplishments in the sphere of cultural activity were considerable during the Terror and the Thermidorian reaction; but here they are virtually ignored. And in the last two books, which treat of the Directory, Aubry failed, as have many others, to achieve a nice balance between domestic policy and foreign relations, between the government and Bonaparte. If, however, the dust-jacket excerpts from German reviews of Volume I may be taken at face value, the book should

meet with a favorable reception from the audience to which the translation is directed.

It is difficult, at least for this reviewer, to agree with Aubry's conclusions concerning the Revolution and Bonaparte. Although he does indicate his awareness that Napoleon represented the consummation of the Revolution, he had already committed himself to the extent of saying, "*Jawohl, Bonaparte ist die Revolution.*" Such an opinion might well have been modified by the memory of the closing words of Bonaparte's initial pronouncement as first consul: "The Revolution is ended."

Western Reserve University

JOHN HALL STEWART

OEUVRES DE MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE. Volume VI, DISCOURS, 1789-1790. Edition préparée sous la direction de Marc Bouloiseau, Georges Lefebvre, Albert Soboul. [Publication de la VI<sup>e</sup> section de l'Ecole des hautes études et de la Société des études robespierristes.] (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1950. Pp. xxxii, 703. 1,200 fr.)

WHATEVER one may think of Robespierre, he was certainly among the first to speak out, during the French Revolution, for democracy in the sense of universal male suffrage. He welcomed lower-class support, warned constantly against counter-revolution and opposed the declaration of war, but once war had begun he embraced the program of centralization and strict controls, together with intimidation of adversaries, that the more vehement revolutionaries loudly called for. To making known these activities, as against the stereotype of Robespierre the terrorist, the Société des études robespierristes has devoted itself since its foundation by Albert Mathiez in 1909. One of its chief enterprises has been the publication of the first complete edition of Robespierre's works. Two volumes, containing his literary and legal papers before 1789, were published before the First World War. In 1926 came a volume of correspondence, and in 1939 a critical edition of Robespierre's journal of 1792, *Le défenseur de la Constitution*. Volume V of the series, which is to contain his other journal, the *Lettres aux Commettants*, is ready for publication but delayed by financial difficulties. The present volume, while numbered VI, is the fifth to appear. It contains Robespierre's speeches at the Estates General, the Constituent Assembly, and the Jacobin club to the end of 1790.

Robespierre, like his colleagues, read his most important speeches from prepared manuscripts, which in some cases were printed immediately. It is only these that appear in Vellay's edition of 1908. Some of Robespierre's prepared speeches, however, were not printed after delivery; and in addition, on hundreds of occasions, he made unprepared remarks during the heat of debate. The present editors undertake to reconstruct every word that Robespierre ever said from the tribune. In the absence of an official record, they have resorted to the newspapers of the day, several of which, in addition to the *Moniteur*, obtained the right to have "tachygraphs" in a kind of embryonic press box. The reports by no means

always correspond; they also reflect various shades of political opinion toward Robespierre. The editors print them all. For example, twenty-one newspaper accounts are given of his speech of January 25, 1790, on the qualification for the suffrage; many, to be sure, are only brief notes. The volunteer labor of a whole "team" of French scholars in addition to the three editors has gone into this time-consuming but historically valuable work; it is to be hoped that circumstances will allow them to move forward, with the same methods, into the more climactic years of the Revolution.

Princeton University

R. R. PALMER

PARIS PENDANT LA TERREUR: RAPPORTS DES AGENTS SECRETS DU MINISTRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR. Edited by *Pierre Caron*. Volume III. (Paris: Librairie Champion. 1943. Pp. 403.) Volume IV. (Paris: Librairie Didier. 1949. Pp. 402.)

EVERY historian of the French Revolution is familiar with the reports of police agents during the Terror already edited (William Adolphe Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution française*, Leipzig, 1867-70, 3 vols. in one; Pierre Caron, *Paris pendant la Terreur*, Paris, 1910-14, 2 vols., and also his "Rapports de Grivel et Siret . . .," in *Bulletin d'histoire économique*, 1907, pp. 67-231). Caron has edited two more volumes of these valuable reports; Volume III includes the period from January 17 to February 8, 1794, and Volume IV the rest of February, 1794. This month and a half covers the period after the French recapture of Toulon and the beginning of opposition between Hébert and Desmoulins. The same meticulous care has been taken to document the texts as in the former volumes.

The topics appearing most frequently in both volumes are the shortage of food, the rise in prices, and the resultant economic unrest. Bread was the chief scarcity in January, but meat was almost completely lacking in February. Black-market transactions, long lines at shops, and scuffles among shoppers are described. Parisians attributed the lack of food to plotting by Pitt, speculators (Fabre d'Eglantine had been arrested in January), or requisitions for the army. The public was being prepared for additional laws of the maximum and was told that complaint was unpatriotic.

During these two months, the agents occasionally expressed doubts about the sectional assemblies, and, in February, the sections seem to have feared that their meetings would be forbidden. Women were active in these assemblies. One report cites an admonition to housewives not to neglect their homes (III, 126). Public reaction to the struggle between Hébert and Desmoulins is reported. Danton is seldom mentioned, but there is frequent reference to Parisian reaction to Robespierre's speeches and to popular anxiety over his health in February. Robespierre was already known as the incorruptible and the champion of the people. In February also, there was an increasing support for greater severity against enemies of the Revolution, but Parisians seem to have been unaware of atrocities taking place in Nantes or Lyon.



Catholic mass was still being celebrated in a few churches, but there is less mention of the worship of reason than one might have expected in this period. Comments on the theater are more frequent in the reports of Volume III than of Volume IV. Special free performances, such as *Le jugement dernier des rois* by Sylvain Maréchal, were given on the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI, and also during January of plays written about the capture of Toulon. Several of the new plays showed hostility to England. Capacity audiences applauded republicanism and patriotism. The statement by Latour-Lamontagne that *Epicharis et Néron* by Legouvé "proves that republican poets are not inferior to monarchical poets" has not been the verdict on Revolutionary dramas by literary historians.

These reports reveal the complex development of Revolutionary patriotism. Following the recapture of Toulon, Parisians talked of peace, but this was soon replaced by demand for invasion of England, and anxiety over the war on the Spanish border and in the Rhineland. The Vendéean war and the probability of a second draft law were frequently discussed in assemblies and cafés. Throughout both months, Parisians engaged in a constant search for salt-peter.

Adoption of Jacobin vocabulary from the Convention and the Jacobin club increased in the month and a half. Louis XVI was called the "big pig," the English, "blackguards," and those opposing republicans at home, "muscadins or aristocrats" (III, 67, 83, 220). In February, the Vendéean rebels were called "vermin" and intriguers "venomous insects" (IV, 190, 219). The courage of Revolutionaries was compared to a volcano, and aristocrats to gangrene (IV, 127, 178). Pourvoyeur, who was stronger in his revolutionary vocabulary than the other agents, reported that the people believed "aristocrats resemble a multitude of pigeons who devastate a field. They should be terrorized, and the guillotine is the means" (IV, 218). Similar words were used in the sectional assemblies but may also be found in the minutes of popular societies remote from Paris.

These reports during two relatively quiet months are significant for everyday life and the psychology of Parisians. If one were to credit these agents fully, Parisians were strongly republican and ardently patriotic. Their approval of the abolition of slavery was confirmation of their firm belief in Liberty and Equality.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LES MISSIONS DU CONSEIL EXÉCUTIF PROVISOIRE ET DE LA COMMUNE DE PARIS. Volume I, LA PREMIÈRE TERREUR (1792). By Pierre Caron. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1950. Pp. viii, 222.)

THE author of this thorough study of the missions of 1792, who incidentally is an honorary member of the American Historical Association, has devoted years of research to the "interregnum" period in France of August and September, 1792. *Les massacres de septembre* (Paris, 1935) is the best-known product of this interest. Now this study is added, and it is to be followed by a collection of documents on the missions to the invasion-threatened east and north.



The present book is a meticulously careful analysis of the evidence the author has been able to gather concerning the missions which the provisory executive council under Roland sent into the southern and western departments at the end of August and early in September, 1792, and also of the several missions sent by the Paris Commune during the same period. The appendixes give biographical details concerning many of the members of these missions.

The council appointees can be classified only as "*patriots du 10 août*," and were not necessarily Dantonists or anything else, the author insists; although some of them were nominated by the Revolutionary Commune and Danton may have had a hand in the naming of some of them. Caron did not make the point, but this reviewer found it significant that more than several of these agents appeared later as members of the Hébert and Babeuf factions.

Their functions were primarily military, to stimulate recruiting for the armies and the procurement of military necessities. Incidentally they performed other functions, interpreting recent events in Paris as well as building enthusiasm for the new regime. A few of them chose to intervene in local governmental affairs, and one mission gained notoriety for itself and eventually for all the rest by voicing radical sentiments on the touchy subject of private property. But Caron insists that this was quite exceptional and that other missions played a conciliatory and pacificatory role.

This point is important because the later notoriety of these missions was based on the actions of only a few agents and on the action of Roland, who, for political reasons, chose to disavow even his own appointees in recalling the missions. In other words we have here a thoroughly objective revision of the traditional and once accepted interpretation of these missions.

The story is a chapter in the history of the transition period between constitutional monarchy and republic and of the Girondin-Jacobin struggle, which is the background for Roland's action. But it is also a chapter in the age-old conflict between radical and impetuous youth and entrenched conservatism. Local officials of moderate and bourgeois views inevitably clashed with the hot-headed young men from Paris with their enthusiasm and their insistence that sacrifices, which seemed to threaten property rights as well as local autonomy, must be made. The moderates won in the fall of 1792 and these missions were recalled. But it was a very short victory.

*Coe College*

GORDON H. McNEIL

THE INCIDENCE OF THE EMIGRATION DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Donald Greer*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, No. XXIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 173. \$3.00.)

INSPIRED by Crane Brinton's statistical analyses of the Jacobins, Donald Greer proceeded to make a similar study of the incidence of the Terror, which was published in 1935. Encouraged further by Professor Brinton, Greer next applied

the statistical method to a study of the incidence of the emigration. The result is the work here under review, which follows closely the pattern of his earlier study.

"The period covered extends from July, 1789, when the Comte d'Artois and his friends crossed the frontier into the Austrian Netherlands, to December, 1799, when Bonaparte closed the lists of *émigrés*" (p. 4). How many persons emigrated from France during this period? What regions were most, or least, affected? To what social classes did the *émigrés* belong? Why did they emigrate? When did they go? When, if at all, did they return? The answers to these and like questions were sought in the lists of *émigrés* and deportees prepared in compliance with the legislation of the period, corrected and completed by means of other source material. So far as the records enabled him to do so, the author has counted the *émigrés*, noted the occupation and social status of each, arranged the statistics in tables, and interpreted the results of his tedious and difficult labor. His figures show that about five persons in every thousand, or one half of one per cent of the population of France, emigrated. "A statistical curve of the emigration, rising from a base line in 1789, would mount steadily through 1790 and 1791, steepen in 1792, shoot to a peak in 1793, fall away early the next year, and drop almost vertically in August, 1794" (p. 32). The emigration was heavy along the frontier; in the central regions it was light. Contrary to tradition, the movement was not confined to lily-white aristocrats and black-gowned priests; the nobility and clergy represented only forty-two per cent of the *émigrés*. "French society, from its crest to its base, participated in the movement. Every class, every condition, and every profession, trade, and craft contributed its quota. And the prototype *émigré* was *not* Talleyrand, the priest-noble, but a composite figure, priest-noble-bourgeois-artisan-peasant, with shades of the nondescript for seams" (p. 69). "Some went in quest of arms and allies to turn against their country; others were legally forced to ask asylum; and still others sought a refuge from turmoil . . . *émigrés* of hatred, *émigrés* of faith, *émigrés* of fear, and mixed in the crowd were *émigrés* of hunger, of accident, of pleasure, and, humanly, *émigrés* without reason" (p. 108). Ten per cent died abroad; very likely the great majority were back in France by 1800.

The value of such a study as this is beyond question. The reviewer would urge the author to apply the statistical method also to an investigation of the incidence of prison life in France during the Terror.

University of North Carolina

MITCHELL B. GARRETT

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. Edited with Many Additions from the Original Text and an Introduction by J. P. Mayer. Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. xxvi, 332. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of both history and political thought will welcome this new edition of de Mattos' translation of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Recollections*, which first ap-

peared in 1896. Although Americans are most familiar with Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America*, they will find the *Recollections* scarcely less rewarding.

The *Recollections* are not a history of the French Revolution of 1848, but a series of observations, comments, and reflections on the upheaval of that year. The *Recollections* are in the realm of politics, as the editor J. P. Mayer suggests, what Pascal's *Pensées* or Montaigne's *Essais* are in the realm of philosophy and literature. Tocqueville came to his subject as an aristocrat who was prepared to accept the Revolution of 1789, which he believed was continuing in his own day and would continue for many years to come. He was that extraordinary observer who could both participate in a great drama and stand aside and analyze the actions of the players with the cool detachment of a scientist. He illuminated almost everything he touched.

Perhaps his greatness lies in the perspective he is able to maintain between the past, present, and future, and in his grasp of how men will react under the impact of violent and dynamic events. His keen insight into social institutions is well illustrated by the following passage, which Harold Laski, among others, has made familiar: "It seems to me the more I study the former conditions of the world and see the world of our day in greater detail, the more I consider the prodigious variety to be met not only in laws, but in the principles of law, and the different forms even now taken and retained . . . by the rights of property on this earth—the more I am tempted to believe that what we call necessary institutions are often no more than institutions to which we have grown accustomed."

Mr. Mayer has performed a useful service as editor of the *Recollections* in providing us with an introduction, notes, additions from the original text, and a short bibliography. He comes to his subject with a strong background, for not only is he author of *Political Thought in France: From Sieyès to Sorel* (London, 1943) but also of *Prophet of the Mass Age: A Study of Alexis de Tocqueville* (London, 1939). Mr. Mayer's introduction is the work of a devoted student of its subject; he can say that "Tocqueville's power of historical and sociological analysis is unsurpassed." Whether everyone will completely agree with this judgment is not important, for, certainly, it is true that few can match the great Frenchman as an analyst of political behavior.

It may be observed in passing, that no amount of statistical apparatus, which is now the current rage in social science, especially since the advent of the Ford Foundation, can reveal with such penetration the forces at play between men and events in a given historical situation as is done by a mind like Tocqueville's.

Mr. Mayer says that "Tocqueville was a realistic sociologist, Marx in comparison with him an Utopian." The reviewer suggests that this statement does less than adequate justice to Marx. Surely Marx was a realist as well as a utopian. He was first and foremost a revolutionary, and, if he was not successful in his own day, think what he has done since his death! Marx's writings are the bible of a ruling group in Soviet Russia, which now dominates a population of some

800,000,000 in the world. Yet Mr. Mayer has written an able introduction, and has brought to our attention a number of Tocqueville's brilliant insights.

University of Minnesota

BENJAMIN E. LIPPINCOTT

GENERALS AND POLITICIANS: CONFLICT BETWEEN FRANCE'S HIGH COMMAND, PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT, 1914-1918. By Jere Clemens King. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1951. Pp. 294. \$3.50.)

WHEN World War I opened in August, 1914, the French legislators surrendered the direction of military affairs to the high command. The war minister (Messimy) gave the general in chief (Joffre) "*absolute liberty* of action for the execution of his plans" (p. 15), and on August 4 the chambers adjourned. How the senators and deputies won back the authority they had abdicated, and how France "emerged from the four-year struggle with her civilian government and democratic institutions intact" (p. 242), is the theme of this patient and precise study. Professor King has not only helped to clarify an important chapter in the history of the Third Republic; he has also presented, in a timely, cogent, and circumstantial form, a case study on the dichotomy of power that threatens a democratic regime in time of war.

Unfounded hopes that the war would be a short one dissolved before the close of 1914. The government returned from Bordeaux to Paris on December 11 to reclaim the control it had compromised. The high command resisted; Joffre sought to bar even members of the cabinet and the defense commissions from the war zone; and finally conceded the right of parliamentary inspection with the greatest reluctance. A new crisis arose when he dismissed Sarraill (July, 1915), a general highly esteemed by the deputies of the Left for his "republicanism." *L'Affaire Sarraill* almost wrecked the "sacred union" all parties had pledged for the duration of hostilities.

Joffre's exaggerated prestige waned with the German assault on Verdun in 1916: he had ignored repeated warnings from Paris that the Verdun defenses needed strengthening. Briand, as president of the council of ministers, adroitly eased him out and he was replaced by the more tractable Nivelle. The civil government had recovered its ascendancy. Yet neither Poincaré as president of the Republic nor Ribot (who headed a new cabinet in March, 1917) had sufficient determination to block Nivelle's April offensive, which, as they correctly anticipated, proved a bloody debacle.

The advent of the Clemenceau ministry in November, 1917, marked a stiffening of the French will to victory, although Mr. King considers the Tiger's war leadership somewhat overrated. He thinks Clemenceau could and should have hastened the unity of the Allied commands on the western front, finally achieved under Foch at the eleventh hour (March, 1918). But he agrees that Clemenceau

firmly maintained the supremacy of the civil government and saw to it that Foch's extraordinary powers as generalissimo lapsed with the armistice.

Only a scholar with an exceptionally clear mind, cool judgment, and unlimited patience could have dissected this four-year drama so lucidly. Mr. King's analysis of men, motives, and controversies is sane, succinct, and well documented, and his conclusions command respect. They tend, on the whole, to vindicate the judgment but not the character nor the courage of the civilian leaders of France in this long crisis. He plays no favorites but it may be objected, despite his judicial calm, that he writes as a civilian and leans too heavily on civilian sources. The moral implicit in his monograph—that in a democracy a powerful military machine is a potential Frankenstein's monster—is not stressed. The thoughtful reader is left to ponder it for himself on the basis of the evidence presented.

*Ithaca, New York*

GEOFFREY BRUUN

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH: AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Gerald Brenan*. (2d ed.; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1950. Pp. xx, 384. \$5.00.)

A book like this one of Gerald Brenan's has been needed for a long time. Except for Antonio Ramos Oliveira's *Politics, Economics, and Men of Modern Spain*, to which it is comparable, there has been no adequate study of the last, painful century of Spanish history. For the American public Brenan's book is clearer than Oliveira's in its exposition of the peculiar economics and ideologies of modern Spain, and it is better organized, although the similarity of the plan and topical arrangement of the two works is striking. In *The Spanish Labyrinth* an analysis of the monarchist regime from the restoration in 1874 to the founding of the republic is followed by a section—the best part of the book—on the agrarian question, the leftist parties, and the Carlists. The final section is a cogent summary of the republic so treated as to make it the last element in an explanation of the causes and nature of the civil war, which is briefly summarized as an epilogue.

Historical determinists who believe in the inevitability of the main lines of development in human affairs will find arguments for their belief in the century that preceded the Franco rebellion in 1936. Brenan well establishes the thesis, with which few outside the ultramontanes seem to disagree, that the convulsions which Spain has lived through—and which, unhappily, menace her future—are due in major part to a combination of a wretched agrarian situation with an underdeveloped and abnormal industrial growth. A consequence has been that only immanently and incompletely was there the transition to political liberalism engineered by a confident middle class as in the rest of western Europe. Such a revolution, abortive ever since Napoleonic days and constantly postponed, finally coincided in the 1930's with a proletarian and peasant rising that came, quite

simply, because it was obvious that nothing would ever be done without revolution.

That is one of the few generalizations that one can reach. The rest of the picture is labyrinthine, contradictory, and particularly foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind. The unnatural alliance between the land-holding oligarchy and the industrial bourgeoisie was disturbed by Catalan nationalism and Basque Catholicism. The liberal role played by the army for a generation after the Carlist wars was a prelude to its amoral politics under the cynical monarchy of Alfonso XII and Alfonso XIII. Marxism, which never took deep root in Spanish soil even after the Russian Revolution, sprouted with a temporary prominence only after the civil war had begun, due exclusively to the clever opportunism of the Stalinists, whose eyes were fixed more on Europe than on Spain. Much more profoundly Spanish was the anarcho-syndicalist movement, with its center in Catalonia and Andalusia. Its most vigorous rival was Castilian socialism; their rivalry must be explained in part on the regional antagonism without which no aspect of Spanish politics can be understood. Carlism, unmatched elsewhere in Europe, bears some relationship in Spanish life to that of contemporary Pan-Islam in North Africa and the Near and Middle East, which may serve to remind the reader (Brenan does not) of the oft-quoted remark that Africa begins at the Pyrenees.

The parliamentary republic of 1931 could have survived only if it had come to grips with the land problem, which it did not, for reasons sometimes beyond its control. Traditional Spanish mistrust of government, the abstention or enmity of the anarchist-syndicalist elements, the adamant conservatism of the landholders, the obstructionism of the Catholic hierarchy, the grumbling opposition of the army, the fear of social reform on the part of the bourgeoisie, made the mistakes and the dry constitutionalism of the republican regime stand out in greater relief. Brenan's handling of this complicated and unbalanced situation is careful and objective. His study is a good antidote to the polemical writing from Left and Right which has woefully misled the public—and too many men in government. The value of minor statements might be questioned: in 1922 the army "is said to have taken" 51 per cent of the budget (p. 60); "one was told that" the Jesuits ran the antique furniture business (p. 48). There are a few errors of fact; placing the signing of the Franco-Soviet pact in the summer of 1934 (p. 306) is the only one worth noting. Such details are irrelevant to the understanding the author offers, for example, of the quasi-religious character of Spanish anarchism and the centrifugal force of Catalan and Basque separatism and of Valencian and Andalusian federalism. In particular, the Spanish peasant is the hero of the book, as he should be.

*University of Toledo*

WILLARD A. SMITH

STRASSBURG, FREIBURG, BERLIN, 1901-1919. By *Friedrich Meinecke*. (Stuttgart: K. F. Kochler Verlag. 1949. Pp. 288.)

FRIEDRICH Meinecke, most illustrious of German historians of this century and honorary member of the American Historical Association, published the first volume of his memoirs in 1941. In the preface to that volume he wrote that his reminiscences of the later period would not be published until after his death. The frail scholar (now in his eighty-ninth year), however, has outlived the "thousand-year Reich" of the Nazis and has now issued a second volume, which brings his story down to 1919. Written in 1943-1944, the book has been allowed to remain pretty much the way Meinecke wrote it at that time. Here and there only do we find phrases and sentences that were obviously interpolated by the author after 1945.

The present volume deals with the period of full development of this great historian, the time of the publication of his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* and the beginnings of the germination of his *Idee des Staatsraison* and *Die Entstehung des Historismus*. His academic life during these years took place in Strassburg, where he experienced "the late flowering of the liberal and at the same time passionate humanism of the period of the foundation of the Reich"; Freiburg, where he passed the "happiest years" of his life; and Berlin, "the first guard regiment of learning," where he remains to this day. Intimate glimpses of German university life bring in review before us some of the greatest figures in German scholarship—Nöldeke, Windelband, Rickert, Eucken, Dehio, Knapp, Harry Breslau, Alfred Dove, Heinrich Finke, Schulze-Gaevernitz, Troeltsch, Hintze, Erich Marcks, Herkner, Gustav Mayer, Delbrück and other lesser known figures—all presented with the keen insight, high sense of integrity, and innate modesty so characteristic of this scholar.

Meinecke is not a cloistered historian, however. He has a passionate and absorbing interest in the burning problems of the day. Throughout his life he has been guided by a principle of polarity which sought to arrive at a synthesis between art and scholarship, between *Geist* and *Macht*, between Goethe and Bismarck. Throughout his life, therefore, he has enjoyed the confidence of men of affairs, and the present volume is replete with fascinating comments on political personalities such as William II, Bethmann-Hollweg, Rathenau, and von Kühlmann, and penetrating insights into the political conditions between 1914 and 1919. The extraordinary descriptions of the mood of despair in Berlin in November, 1918, should take their place with the *Spektator Briefe* of Ernst Troeltsch as among the most revealing documents of that epoch.

This volume of memoirs, finally, is an extraordinary example of the almost agonizing political and ethical conflict which went on in the minds and consciences of the best German intellectuals of this century. Coming from a "Christian-Germanic" background of Prussian conservatism, tinged with a good measure of anti-Semitism and a strong residue of "romantic Biedermeier," Meinecke became increasingly aware of the need to bring the masses into the body politic and thus joined the circle of Friedrich Naumann. Under the impact of the events of 1914-1918 his former optimistic hope of fusing *Geist* and *Macht*



into a harmonious whole was rudely shattered. He saw his "old national political and cultural ideal distorted and soiled by the *Machtpolitiker*." Out of this somewhat rueful acceptance of the "primacy of *Geist*" came his later masterpiece, *Die Idee des Staatsraison* and his ever-increasing support of the Weimar Republic. But this part of the story is not included in the present volume. On November 11, 1918, Meinecke wrote in his diary: "O poor, poor Germany. Even in my most gloomy dreams I never believed that we would sink so low." He was to live to see Germany sink to even lower depths of moral and physical disintegration and despair. It is our hope that he be granted many more years of creative work and that he will give us another installment of an autobiography which is modest in physical proportions but which is full of philosophical insight, moral earnestness, and noble idealism.

Queens College

KOPPEL S. PINSON

DOCUMENTS ON GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1918-1945. Series D (1937-1945), Volume II, GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1937-1938). [Department of State Publication 3548.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. lxxxv, 1070. \$3.25.)

This large volume covers the period of the mounting tension between the Third Reich and Czechoslovakia, as well as its dramatic denouement at the conference table in Munich.

The documents presented here were originally deposited in the archives of the German foreign office and came into Allied hands during the military advance into Germany. The English author of a monograph on Munich, John W. Wheeler Bennett, was able to use some of the dispatches and memorandums before this collection was ready for the press, but the substantial portion of the material waits for a thorough scrutiny and critical evaluation. The decision of the Allied experts to publish the seized documents at the earliest opportunity was wise and is to be wholeheartedly endorsed. Thanks to it, the seals were removed from the *arcanum imperii* and historians have been given free access to first-hand testimonies concerning political designs and moves on the international chessboard which originated in Berlin and determined the course of world politics from 1918 to 1945. The board of editors, consisting of American, British, and French scholars, as well as those anonymous hands which either sorted the documents or rushed them through the press, deserve full gratitude and recognition by everyone interested in recent international developments. The series, which will evidently run into many bulky volumes, is to be hailed as an eminent service to historical scholarship. It will undoubtedly stimulate serious investigations into both the causes and the vicissitudes of the Second World War.

It is to be borne in mind that the available documents either originated in the German foreign office or were sent to the Wilhelmstrasse from embassies or legations, and occasionally from other government agencies. They shed but dim light on deliberations and transactions which took place in the innermost circle

of the Führer. Such channels as the links between the headquarters of the NSDAP and affiliated organizations, or the ties between the Volksbund für Deutschtum in Ausland and its branches all over the world, can be traced only when they cross the official lines of communication. But despite the gaps and limitations the publication must be regarded as one of the principal source books for modern history.

This series of documents opens with a report by E. Eisenlohr, the German minister in Prague, to his chief, dated October 7, 1937, and concludes with the Anglo-German declaration to which both the Führer and the British prime minister affixed their signatures on September 30, 1938. There are altogether 676 items in the collection, some terse and succinct, others analyzing thoroughly the controversial points and running into several pages. Both the minister and his deputy, Andor Hencke, reported from Prague frequently, transmitting to Berlin, in addition to their own messages, letters and memorandums received from the headquarters of the Sudeten German party. Their colleagues accredited to other capitals contributed their share, too, in proportion to the importance of their posts. Paris, London, Rome, Moscow, Warsaw, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Budapest seethed with rumors and anxieties. Every piece of information that could be picked either from professional agents or from voluntary collaborators was promptly dispatched to Berlin as indication of the line that the respective government might take if the crisis led to a major armed conflict. But the center of gravity was unquestionably in Prague. There both the president, Eduard Beneš, and the prime minister, Milan Hodža, were engaged in a truly Sisyphean task, endeavoring to settle the minority problems within the framework of the Czechoslovak constitution. Their partners in negotiations, Konrad Henlein and his lieutenants, while pretending to act exclusively on behalf of the Sudeten German population, had, in fact, transferred allegiance to the Führer before the discussions actually began, and co-ordinated their activities to directives received from Berlin.

Translated into clear and readable English and supplemented by editorial notes, the documents have not been presented to historians as a finished picture of Hitler's drive against Czechoslovakia but as a source book from which any analysis of the causes of the Second World War will have to start.

*Columbia University*

OTAKAR ODLOZILIK

THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTION. By *Hugh Seton-Watson*. (London: Methuen and Company; New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1950, 1951. Pp. xvi, 406. 22s. 6d. \$5.50.)

REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE. By *Doreen Warriner*. (London: Turnstile Press. 1950. Pp. xvi, 188. 12s. 6d.)

THESE two studies are noteworthy in offering something intermediate between journalism and history. They deal with contemporary affairs—the developments

in eastern Europe during and since the Second World War—but the authors are able to analyze these developments with the perspective and assurance of experts long familiar with their subject. Both authors have traveled extensively in this area and have studied its history and problems in earlier works of recognized competence. Yet their interpretations of what is happening in eastern Europe today are so directly contradictory that at times the reader needs to remind himself that they are concerned with the same portion of the globe.

One reason for this is the quite different approach of the two authors. Miss Warriner is interested primarily in what is going on in the factories, villages, and planning commissions. She praises the industrialization programs as a prerequisite for a healthy and balanced eastern European economy; she rejoices that formerly landless peasants now have a few acres that they can call their own; and she obviously looks forward to the time when these acres will be taken away from their new owners and combined into collectives. The fact that the latter process will involve wholesale intimidation and repression gives her little concern. The economic revolution comes first and the political repercussions are definitely secondary. She freely concedes that “So far as the guarantee of individual political rights is concerned, the constitutions mean nothing.” She insists that it has to be so. “The essential economic change could not have been carried through, in eastern Europe in 1945, through a system of parliamentary democracy. Had British and American policy prevailed in eastern Europe, the institutions of democracy would have been used by the powerful and privileged as a weapon of reaction, to prevent social and economic progress” (p. 172).

Mr. Seton-Watson, in contrast, surveys the scene with the preconceptions of the Western intellectual. This is not to say that he is unaware of the mundane problems of the eastern European peasant. Indeed his earlier study, *Eastern Europe between the Wars*, was outstanding precisely because it emphasized the plight of the peasant and the significance of the agrarian and labor movements in opposition to the established authoritarian regimes. He admired particularly the younger generation, led it is true by Communists, but fighting bravely in the mountains against the foreign invader, while the official personages scurried abroad to safety. “To it belongs the future,” he prophesied in 1943 (p. 241).

His prophecy has since been fulfilled. The future is now the present, and Mr. Seton-Watson is appalled by the spectacle. He is appalled especially by the disappearance of personal freedom and by the crushing Soviet domination of eastern Europe. The latter, in his opinion, is responsible for the former. In direct opposition to Miss Warriner he explicitly rejects the thesis that political democracy needed to be sacrificed for the sake of economic democracy and that the people of eastern Europe unconcernedly accepted the sacrifice.

There is certainly no evidence for the view, widely held by apologists for communism in Western Europe, that “only a few intellectual malcontents” care about intellectual freedom, that the workers and peasants care only for their daily bread and a job. Neither in Eastern nor in Western Europe do workers or

peasants care only for material comfort. There are no doubt individual workers and peasants, like individual bureaucrats, capitalists or members of any other social group, who care only for these things. But no Western apologist for communism, nor any outside observer of any political complexion, has the right to decide whether the workers and peasants of Eastern Europe are capable of "appreciating freedom of thought" [p. 287].

In organization and treatment, Mr. Seton-Watson's book is a sequel to his earlier study. It deals with all the countries from the Baltic to the Aegean and from Germany to the Soviet Union. It includes two introductory chapters on the historical background, five chapters on the war period, and seven on the post-war developments—political, economic, social, religious, and diplomatic. Miss Warriner ignores altogether Greece and Rumania, and in her consideration of the other countries she concentrates largely on the economic changes. In the first four chapters she describes the process of Communist consolidation of power, from the broad "National Fronts" of the resistance period to the "People's Democracies" which were established as a transitional form of government on the way to complete socialization and sovietization. The remaining five chapters deal with "The Plans," "Planning in Practice," "Land for the Peasants," "Collective Farming," and "The Economic Consequences." It is here that Miss Warriner is at her best and makes her chief contribution. For general purposes Mr. Seton-Watson provides the most comprehensive and useful account, but in the economic field Miss Warriner is more informative and informed.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, 1917-1923. By *Edward Hallett Carr*.

Volume I. [A History of Soviet Russia.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1951. Pp. x, 430. \$5.00.)

*The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, is the first installment of an ambitious effort to cover the entire history of Soviet Russia from an analytical, institutional point of view; it is to be followed by another series under the title *The Struggle for Power, 1923-28*. The Revolutionary period is to be covered in five parts: "The Man and the Instrument," "The Constitutional Structure," "Dispersal and Reunion," "The Economic Order," and "Soviet Russia and the World." Of these the first three are included in the present work while the following two will appear as Volumes II and III, respectively.

The work is not intended to fill the need for a comprehensive history of Soviet Russia, being designed as an institutional study. In fact, it is not a unified history at all but rather a collection of three separate monographs, rather deficient in presenting an over-all picture of the revolutionary process. The three parts must necessarily be evaluated separately.

Part I on Lenin and the pre-Revolutionary background of the Bolshevik party is a clear, systematic treatment of party history, evidencing good scholarship

applied to a confusing subject. The basic thesis developed here is a valuable idea and well stated—it is probably the best contribution of the entire book—that the revolutionary movement came to power, in defiance of the Marxian prognosis, without the objective material conditions necessary for the organization of a socialist society. Once this fact is realized, it becomes clear that the subsequent development of Soviet society has not been toward socialism at all but toward an entirely different social order rationalized with socialist terminology, the rationalization being enforced with the familiar machinery of political and ideological control. In the opinion of this reviewer, the wide recognition of this situation would be of vast importance in analyzing and allaying the current world tension, as well as in rectifying the widespread intellectual confusion caused directly or indirectly by the experience of the Russian Revolution.

Part II of Carr's work is a moderately useful exposition of the formal development of Soviet political institutions, though the insight developed in Part I is not applied. It is particularly good on the little-appreciated semi-legal existence of the non-Bolshevik Socialist parties in 1920, and on the process of the centralization of power. A serious weakness appears, however, in the treatment of the factional controversies within the Communist power, where the author appears guilty of a bias common to many non-Communist writers on the Soviet Union who, in their efforts to be objective, absorb much of the official Stalinist attitude toward Communist oppositionists.

Parts II and III are seriously weakened by an excessively constitutional approach resulting in empty formalism and a serious distortion of the substance of Soviet historical development. Carr admits as much in remarking on the unimportance of Western constitutional concepts to the Russian and Communist mind, but again he forgets his own insight in undertaking an essentially misleading organization of the material.

As to the substance of Part III, the political history of the border regions and Communist policy toward them, the author has introduced much interesting and clarifying material on a subject rarely treated systematically, but it would seem more appropriate to include this topic in Part V with the history of the civil war.

Two special sections, on the theory of the state and of self-determination, appear to be entirely superfluous and out of place in this context.

The author's style leaves something to be desired; it evidences a defect familiar to many students of Russia, who find on going over their own work in first draft that it reads like a translation from Russian. This and other stylistic and typographical imperfections indicate an overhasty publication effort, inappropriate for a book which, according to the jacket, is "destined to become a classic." This book, though useful in many matters of detail, is a disappointment insofar as it attempts a new integration of Soviet history. The monumental work of synthesis remains to be undertaken.

*Harvard University*

ROBERT V. DANIELS

THE SOVIET UNION: THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE. By *Georges Jorré*, Professor in the University of Toulouse. With an Introduction by *A. Perpillou*, Professor of Geography at the Sorbonne. Translated by *E. D. Laborde*, Assistant Master in Harrow School. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xviii, 353. \$4.25.)

I HAVE before me Laborde's translation of Jorré's book on the geography of the Soviet Union. I begin to read the translation, often comparing it with the 1946 French original. Soon my perusing becomes a veritable proofreading. The book turns out to be full of various kinds of errors, made both by the translator and by the author. Some of the numerous Russian words printed in italics are misspelled but their correct spelling could at least be guessed; others are misspelled beyond recognition. Definition of many terms is very often not correct. For instance, the word *goltsy* does not mean "bare hills" but "bare rocky summits." *Merzlota* (p. 26) does not necessarily mean *permanently* frozen ground; and cedars (p. 39) do not grow in Siberia. To refer to coniferous trees as "resinous species" is not accurate, and "*pin sylvestre*" should not be translated into English as the "forest pine" (p. 35). "Plastering" (of the saline steppe soil, p. 125) should read "liming"; "dry market gardening" (same page) probably should be a "commercial growing of crops without irrigation." These are just a few examples of the numerous errors encountered in the book; they are perhaps not very important but they are very annoying to persons familiar with the subject and very confusing to the general reader. There are, however, many more serious errors in the book. I shall mention just a few and urge the reader to watch for the rest.

It is erroneous to state that recent discoveries have shown "that the whole of Siberia, except certain central sectors . . . was buried under ice in Quaternary times." In the discussion of the climate there are several misstatements: for instance, mean January temperature at Irkutsk is not -40° F., but -5.6° F. To a reader it would be much more interesting to learn about the adaptability of the Russian people to cold climate than to read about the severity of Siberian winters. Cold climate per se is not an unsurmountable obstacle to industrial development. The northern part of the United States and Canada are good examples of that.

In his description of the cultural aspects of the country, the author refers to the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (p. 272); it was abolished at the end of World War II. To call Novochoerkassk a former "chief town of the Don Army" is confusing. Armies in Russia, as elsewhere, have never had "chief towns." It should be "a chief town of the Don Cossack Region."

The discussion of how the "ever-restless and unstable Russian mind" has been formed under the influence of the "unsettling immensity of [the] horizons of Russia" (p. 44) or how the instability of the *moujik*, and a *boisak* (read *bosiak*, i.e., a tramp) spirit, "the most striking feature of the Russian character" (p. 79) depended on the fact that the Russians mostly live in wooden houses in contradistinction to the "substantial" stone houses of the French, which have "given

precision to the internal relations of our states [?]"—such statements cannot be taken too seriously. Predominantly wooden houses of rural America, for instance, whose horizons also are immense, have not developed a restless or unstable nation.

A climax of misinformation, however, is a statement on page 25 that the winter forces many of the Russian peasants "at any rate in the poorer regions of the north, to economize on effort and hence to eat as little as possible, thus practicing a kind of hibernation (*leika*) after the manner of bears and marmots." The Russian word *leika* means "watering can" and has no relation whatsoever to any kind of dormancy.

The pages dealing with peoples of the Soviet Union are especially replete with misstatements. For instance, Ostiaks are not the people of the tundra. The Kalmyks (p. 274) of the lower Volga do not live during the winter in "holes in the ground covered over with planks." The translator, if not the author, should have known what happened to the Kalmyks of the lower Volga after World War II. If he did not know, he at least should explain where the Kalmyks get the planks to cover their holes; their country is a treeless desert. Tunguses (p. 85) do not swarm on the steppe; they are inhabitants of the taiga. Sarts are not a people but an obsolete name of the town dwellers of the Uzbek country, whose present capital, by the way, is not Samarkand, but Tashkent.

This reviewer regrets that such a talented geographer as Jorré, whose descriptions, for instance, of the old cities of Middle Asia are so brilliant, whose discussions of certain features, such as geology, are so well written, and whose generalizations are so interesting, has permitted so many errors to creep into his book. Why did he use so much old and obsolete material without bringing it up to date? It is equally puzzling why the translator let those errors and misstatements remain unchanged in the English translation. And why did he add some more? After all, the value of generalizations and conclusions is determined by the authenticity of the supporting facts.

*University of California, Berkeley*

N. T. MIROV

## Far Eastern History

GESCHICHTE ASIENS. By *Ernst Waldschmidt, et al.* [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.] (Munich: Verlag F. Bruckmann. 1950. Pp. viii, 767. DM 24,00.)

THE new history of Asia, jointly written by five German scholars, each specializing in a region of the continent, is in more ways than one typical of the German tradition. This is the strength and, in other respects, the weakness of the weighty volume under review, which is one of a projected series of nine books collectively entitled, "World History in Individual Treatises."

The authors, possibly under the influence of the publisher, have succeeded in



depersonalizing this material to a remarkable degree. All of them seem to make special efforts to write *sine ira et studio*. Rarely do they allow themselves the advancement of a viewpoint or the freedom of an admitted interpretation.

Indeed modern history in the writing of which objectivity is most easily impaired gets therefore short shrift in the volume. The whole Shova era is dealt with in slightly over two pages, that of the Chinese republic in less than five, and Chinese communism is hardly mentioned. "Only historical distance," says one of the authors, Oskar Kressler, "will allow the clear and reliable evaluation of recent events."

Search for dispassionate presentation should however not be interpreted as dullness in writing. Vivid historical portraits can be found in the book, for example Waldschmidt's characterization of Asoka or Stange's portrayal of Wu Ti. It deserves mentioning, also, that significant thought has been given to the cultural conflict engendered by Western contacts in modern China and Japan.

The presentation of the history of Southeast Asia inevitably suffers from being treated sporadically by different authors as peripheral to the more brilliant civilizations of China and India. The chapter on the development of Central Asiatic peoples, written by Spuler, impresses mainly by its emphasis on the enormous lacunae in our knowledge regarding this subject. Yet the attempt to put here bits and pieces together to form an intelligible whole deserves credit.

Unquestionably, the distinguishing mark of the book is its great reliability. Throughout, the work shows the evidence of painstaking, documentary research. Certainly anyone who looks in it for dependable information concisely expressed in words, charts, maps, and chronological tables, will be greatly rewarded.

University of Utah

HELMUT G. CALLIS

THE RISE OF CHINGIS KHAN AND HIS CONQUEST OF NORTH CHINA. By *H. Desmond Martin*. Introduction by *Owen Lattimore*. Edited by *Eleanor Lattimore*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1950. Pp. xvii, 360. \$4.75.)

THIS volume is a welcome addition to the Western literature on the greatest general of Asiatic history, Chingis Khan. In Mr. Martin's book his "primary object" and most original contribution is the detailed explanation of "that phase of the Mongol conquest of China falling within the reign of Chingis Khan (1206-27)." For the first time students of his life are provided with a clear presentation of the details of his military campaigns based on a thorough knowledge of the geography of Mongolia and North China.

Mr. Martin describes routes of invading forces, the strategic importance of key localities, names of leaders on both sides, numbers of troops involved, disposition of forces, and chronological sequences in the moves made by the Mongols and their opponents. Doubtful points and alternative interpretations are presented in a scholarly manner and supported by numerous footnotes.

The preliminary chapters tell of the character of Chingis Khan, the organization of his army, and the wars within the nomad society which resulted in Temuchin becoming emperor over all Mongolia. This material is derived chiefly from the writings of Vladimirtsov, Grousset, and others. The main body of the work deals with the great campaigns undertaken by Chingis Khan and his generals in eastern Asia. This is based on translations from a wide variety of texts, mostly Chinese. For the translating Mr. Martin relied chiefly on the work of his collaborators, Chang Chien-chiang and Achilles Fang.

The series of campaigns started with an attack in 1209-10 against Hsi Hsia in northwest China, whereby the Tangut ruler was forced to accept Mongol overlordship. This was followed by what Martin calls "Chingis Khan's greatest feat of arms," the first campaign against the North China state of Chin in 1211-12. In three battles in the mountainous country northwest of modern Peking "the flower of the Chin army was destroyed."

A lasting control over parts of China was begun in the years 1212 to 1215. The weakened Chin state, invaded by Mongol armies who had mastered the art of taking fortified cities, suffered a series of attacks and was forced to pay heavy tribute to Chingis. Regular administration by the Mongols over the northern part of Shansi and Hopei was established in 1213, and in the spring of 1215 the old capital Chung-tu (Peking) surrendered. There followed a penetration by Mongol armies up to the very gates of the Chin and Hsi Hsia capitals (1215-18) and the subjugation of Manchuria under the leadership of the general Mukhali (1214-17). The securing of the regions beyond the Altai (1216-18) is described, but the western campaigns of Chingis Khan are only briefly outlined in an appendix.

While Chingis Khan was in central Asia, Mukhali carried on the conquest of North China (1217-23). With Mongol and Chinese forces he subdued walled cities held by the Chin in the territory from Hopei and Shantung to the Wei River valley. Yet in spite of Mukhali's successes Chin forces continued to hold important centers in Shensi up to the time of his death in 1223. Meanwhile, the situation was complicated by Hsi Hsia attacks from the west and invasion by Sung forces from the south. Only in 1227 did the Mongols gain complete control of the area north of the Yellow River.

Chingis Khan returned from central Asia in 1225 and in that same year began the final war against Hsi Hsia. He then accomplished one of his greatest military achievements, the complete elimination of the Tangut state. Martin also terms this war, which ended at the time of Chingis' death in 1227, as "the most destructive war in the annals of Mongol history."

In assessing the results of Chingis Khan's campaigns Mr. Martin reminds us that "with the exception of the Western Turks . . . the Mongols are the only nomads to have arisen beyond the desert, who while remaining a northern pastoral power, conquered and governed vast regions to the South."

One item of minor criticism deserves special notice. References to Chinese

sources lack full bibliographical information and hence are of little help for accurate identifications of the materials used.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WOODBRIIDGE BINGHAM

NATIONALISM AND LANGUAGE REFORM IN CHINA. By *John De Francis*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xi, 306. \$4.00.)

Mr. De Francis' book attempts to study the problem of the alphabetizing of Chinese, not as a simple linguistic problem but "as an instrument of political change," "as part of the nationalist movement in China" (pp. vii-viii). Therefore, he claims to have made use of a "dual approach," "an inter-disciplinary approach, counting on political science to illuminate the political aspect and linguistic science to solve the linguistic problems."

The book therefore is a discussion of a linguistic problem with a special political slant. His "political science" has led him to accept unquestioningly most of the special pleadings of the Chinese Communists and their fellow travelers, including absurd assertions, such as: "If the ideographs are not destroyed, China is sure to die"—a statement which some irresponsible propagandist attributed to the famous Lu Hsün in a sickbed interview (p. 117).

In his linguistic chapters (pp. 139-208), however, he comes to the fair conclusion that the National Language Romanization (Gwoyeu Romatzyh, or G.R.), the Latinxua (Latinization, also called Sin Wenz or S.W., meaning New Writing) and other schemes (such as the Yale Romanization) are all "eminently workable" (pp. 206-207). The important difference between the G.R. and the S.W., the author points out, lies in the fact that the former system indicates tones by changes in the spelling of the syllable itself, while the latter system dispenses with tone-indication altogether (p. 207). These are the two latest systems for the phonetic writing of Chinese speech.

It is a well-known fact that the Latinxua or Sin Wenz system was worked out by the Chinese Communist scholar Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai (1899-1935) and the Soviet Russian sinologists, Kolokolov, Dragunov, B. M. Alexeiev, and others (pp. 92-104) and was used in the Soviet Union for the education of the Chinese minority who at one time numbered about 100,000. Mr. De Francis gives us the interesting information that the 1939 census shows "only 29,620 registered as having Chinese nationality," and that Latinxua, the script which had been especially created for the Chinese in the Soviet Union, was discontinued after 1937 (pp. 105-108).

Mr. De Francis also tells us how energetically the Chinese Communists and their friends tried for a few years to promote the New Script (Sin Wenz) in China and in Hong Kong, and especially in the Communist-controlled areas. Then, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941, "at one stroke, the flourishing activities in behalf of Sin Wenz in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and other foreign-controlled areas taken over by the Japanese were brought

to an end" (p. 131). Strangely enough, even in the Communist-controlled areas, the movement for a phonetic script was also brought to an end in the years 1940-44 (p. 133). Even after the surrender of Japan, only "discussion" of the problem was resumed, and that "on a more modest scale" (p. 134). Our author has offered to explain this "halting" of the New Script movement in Communist regions (pp. 133-34). But his "political science" will not allow him to accept the real explanation, which is neither linguistic nor political but psychological and cultural.

In the very last chapter, De Francis quotes Gunther Stein, who reported that in Communist-controlled areas, "Plain peasants said they wanted the old Chinese script for their children and for themselves. If they were to learn reading and writing it must be in the script in which the officials, the landlords and merchants read and wrote and in which all the books are printed" (p. 248). To put it slightly differently, one may ask, Did the famous Lu Hsün ever write any prose in the Sin Wenz? Did Mao Tse-tung ever write anything in it? Did or can Hsu T'e-li or Wu Yu-chang or any of the Communist advocates of Sin Wenz ever write anything in it? Even the people in the Communist-controlled areas will not learn a script in which a Mao Tse-tung or a Liu Shao-ch'i is unable or unwilling to write his own speeches or articles. And Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-ch'i will not write their speeches or articles in the new phonetic script because they know very well that, if they do, nobody will be able to read them. So they continue to write their speeches and articles in *paihua* (the living spoken language written in characters) which they had learned through stealthily reading and loving the great *paihua* novels in their boyhood days, and which has been made respectable by the Literary Revolution.

In his historical chapters (pp. 3-135), the author traces the history of the various attempts to write Chinese in a phonetic system, beginning with the first phonetic transcription by the earliest Jesuit missionaries in the last years of the sixteenth century, and coming down to the phonetic systems of recent years. In this historical treatment, the *paihua* movement—which in the last thirty-five years has successfully brought about the adoption of the living spoken tongue (*paihua*) as the language of school education and as the language of a living literature—barely receives mention, and then only as an impediment and "a defeat" of language reform as Mr. De Francis conceives it. "To a certain extent," he says (p. 13), "the victory of the *paihua* reformers represents a defeat for those who before and after the Literary Revolution have sought to write an even more vernacular style in an even simpler script."

In this Mr. De Francis was merely echoing the views expressed by such Chinese Communists as Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai and Hsiao San, and such pro-Communist writers as Hu Yü-chih. "To his mind," says De Francis in summarizing the views of Hsiao San, the Communist poet, "the previous attempts at reform of the script in China had not gone far enough. The Hu Shih movement was viewed as merely a literary reform and not really a 'literary revolution' since it said nothing about

destroying the ideographs. All earlier efforts to alphabetize the language were dismissed as inadequate. But Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai's system [of Latinization] was approved in every aspect" (pp. 95-96). That is almost exactly the position of Mr. De Francis' book.

But our author's political enthusiasm has literally "blinded" his researches. He has made Hu Shih himself appear to discredit his own movement! On page 12, he says: "In 1940 Hu Shih himself expressed the judgment that 'The *paihua* movement has merely been of help to a few intellectuals.'" Again, on page 225, he says: "Even the Literary Renaissance was viewed as inadequate, and by no less a person than Hu Shih himself, who stated that 'The *paihua* movement has merely been of help to a few intellectuals.'"

On January 22, 1951, I wrote to the author and requested him to furnish me with the Chinese text of the above quotation. In a very courteous letter dated January 25, 1951, he replied that my letter had led to "the mortifying discovery" that "the remark was made not by Hu Shih-chih (Hu Shih), but by Hu Yü-chih." It was in the same letter that he told me that further checking of his references had revealed that similar wrong identification was made in three other places (pp. 112, 120, 123).

In short, this book is a discussion of a linguistic and historical problem by a man who is prejudiced in his political science and ignorant of history, especially of the history of Chinese literature. So biased and ignorant is he that he actually seriously believes that the language reform movement has been "tied in closely" with the nationalist movement in China (pp. viii and 219-20), and he actually seriously identifies the Chinese Communists as a part of the nationalist movement. He seems to be completely unaware of the undeniable fact that all language reform in China, whether in the form of the *paihua* movement or in the form of advocating any of the phonetic systems of alphabetization, has invariably been led by internationalists (including the Anarchist and Communist movements) and has invariably been opposed by the nationalists (including the Kuomintang or the Nationalist party, against which my open complaint has always been that the *paihua* movement has received no more than nominal recognition during the two decades of its political power). Even Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Chinese Republic, actually wrote that the classical language was superior to, and far more beautiful than, the vernacular *paihua*.

New York, N. Y.

HU SHIH

THE KOREANS AND THEIR CULTURE. By *Cornelius Osgood*, Professor of Anthropology, Yale University. (New York: Ronald Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 387. \$5.00.)

NEVER has a subject so timely and important been so little written about. With the whole world baffled by the problem of Korea, literature on that country

is pitifully inadequate. Hence, it is a pleasure to greet the publication of this volume by Professor Osgood.

Representing scholarly and also sympathetic research into the present life as well as the origin and history of the Korean people and their culture, the book is undoubtedly one of the most up-to-date and comprehensive works on the subject. Life in Korea, before the present conflict, is described in detail through a "case study" of a farming village on the island of Kanghwa, near Seoul, chosen by the author as a "typical Korean community." In considerable detail he portrays the daily living habits, as well as the beliefs, superstitions, and attitudes of the villagers.

Professor Osgood has rendered a signal contribution to the confused world by presenting a book on Korea so varied in content and so expertly written. Nevertheless, it is almost impossible to find a book perfect in every way. In the opinion of this reviewer *The Koreans and Their Culture* is not without some errors of omission and commission. For example, first, the ruling class, or the *yangpans*, discussed by Professor Osgood, disappeared when Japan annexed Korea in 1910. The *yangpans* of Seoul today are neither of the same class that ruled the country before 1910 nor do they fit the author's description. They are the product of the Japanese rule, the intelligentsia who came under the influence of the Western missionaries, and the protégés of the Korean liberals of pre-Japan days.

Secondly, the most important single source of the modern *yangpans* is the Independence Club, founded in 1896 by a Korean-American statesman who may well be called the father of modern Korea. Most of Korea's leaders of today, including President Syngman Rhee, were either directly or indirectly influenced by the club. The author devotes just a line and a half to the club and fails even to mention the name of its founder, Dr. Philip Jaisohn. Any work on modern Korea which does not pay due attention to the significance of the Independence Club leaves a strategic gap unbridged.

In the third place, Professor Osgood fails to take into account the most phenomenal aspect of the story of Korea in the past forty years, namely, the heroic and heart-rending struggle of Korean youth to secure a modern education against the staggering odds of economic poverty and Japanese oppression. Even after the liberation of Korea the story of Korean youth striving to receive an education was the most striking single fact in the tragic country.

One finds, too, that the author at times, in giving a reporter's account, confuses opinions with facts. He says, for instance, that Tangun, the legendary founder of Korea, was born in Kanghwa. The people of that island may think so, but the fact of the matter is that the dwellers of at least several other places make similar claim. Happily such examples are very few and of minor consequence. Furthermore, the merits of the book far outweigh the negative aspects.

All in all, it is an excellent study on the Koreans and their culture from

their origins through the impact of the United States-Russian joint occupation of the country and its aftermath. Readers will find it richly rewarding.

*Pennsylvania College for Women*

CHANNING LIEM

## American History

SOCIETY AND THOUGHT IN EARLY AMERICA: A SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH 1865. By *Harvey Wish*, Western Reserve University. [Society and Thought in America, Volume I.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1950. Pp. xii, 612. \$4.75.)

In this book Professor Wish has presented a summary view of the expansion of American society, with its ideas and institutions, from its founding to the end of the Civil War. The emphasis is upon society, however, rather than upon thought.

In his preface the author says:

A generation of historians of the frontier, while adding their indispensable knowledge and fertile synthesis to the story of westward expansion, has perhaps inadvertently left the impression that the American experience was entirely unique and hence Americans are a people apart from all others. Too many have neglected the fact that continual cultural borrowings from Europe took place at practically all times in American history. The extent to which this cultural interaction resulted in distinctive American institutions and ideas is, of course, the chief problem of the social historian [p. vii].

This is apparently the task he sets himself to perform. It is questionable whether he has succeeded. It is even to be doubted whether "this cultural interaction resulted in distinctive American institutions and ideas." The interaction was certainly real and important, and the social historian, as any other, does well to record it; but if his implication is that it is alone, or even chiefly, responsible for the peculiar and unique characteristics of American civilization, then the social historian probably errs just as gravely as does the frontier historian who attributes those characteristics exclusively to the experiences and the impacts of the West. American civilization is the product of many causal factors: not the frontier alone nor the European intellectual heritage alone nor immigration alone nor industrialism alone, but all these and many more.

There are numerous omissions in the realm of intellectual history that weaken the general quality of the book. The names of Elihu Palmer, Willard Gibbs, Richard Bland, and James Wilson, for example, do not appear. There is little of economic or political thought. The treatments of the ideas of such important figures as John Taylor, Emerson, Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton (who appears in the index as "Andrew Hamilton") seem painfully and misleadingly



sketchy; perhaps this is an inevitable result of trying to bring so many things into the picture. Because of the wealth of detail, it is slow reading.

Yet the book is to be commended for this very wealth of descriptive detail. It opens with a description of "the England of Roger Williams" and "the New England of Roger Williams." It continues through a series of descriptions of "Fitzhugh's Virginia," "The Age of Franklin," "The Era of Hancock and Jefferson," "The Northeast," "The Melting Pot of Carl Schurz's Day," "The West of Jackson and Parkman," "The Antebellum South," "Intellectual Trends in Southern Nationalism," "The Civil War: Triumph of American Nationality," and so on. Two of the best chapters in the book, and two which most nearly achieve the author's objective of a synthesis of society and its ideas, are those entitled "The Antebellum South" and "Intellectual Trends in Southern Nationalism."

The thesis that the ideas and ideals of a people derive from, and are rationalizations of, its experience has both historical and logical validity. Social experience and ideas are mutually complementary parts of an organic whole. And Professor Wish has made a notable effort to present this organic unity of society and thought in his history as few other books since the Beards' *Rise of American Civilization* have done. The book lacks the Beards' spark; it also misses the brilliant and exciting quality of synthesis in the Beard book. But it is more detailed, and much new or little-known material is presented here. Despite the fact that there is much description of intellectual phenomena, the book turns out to be more descriptive than interpretative. It should be a fine text for courses in social history.

University of Washington

MAX SAVELLE

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1654-1875. Edited with Notes and Introductions by *Morris U. Schappes*. Preface by *Joshua Bloch*, New York Public Library. (New York: Citadel Press. 1950. Pp. xxx, 762. \$5.00.)

THIS book represents the product of years of intensive research in an area of American historiography, so far sadly neglected by most writers. The many strands—ethnic, religious, and cultural—that in their blending produced *homo Americanus*, still await their classic historians and their proper evaluation. Beginnings have been made in writing the stories of the Dutch, the Negroes, and others, but the past of the American Jew is still unwritten.

The book under review may be the first of a whole series to appear between now and 1954, the year that will mark, by common tradition, the three hundredth anniversary of the beginnings of Jewish history in the United States. (It was in the first week of September, 1654, that twenty-three Jews, fleeing from the Portuguese in Brazil, arrived in New Amsterdam.) Unfortunately, it is doubtful whether Schappes's work will contribute greatly to a more adequate understanding of the Jewish role in the American culture.

In the 159 documents that comprise the study, the editor illustrates effectively many aspects of Jewish life—social, economic, political, religious, legal, cultural, and philanthropic—from colonial times to the era of reconstruction. A considerable number of these sources are printed here for the first time. Mr. Schappes has also provided 170 pages of careful notations, including a wealth of biographic, bibliographic, and other pertinent data. Each of the documents is preceded by introductory comments which form the unifying frame for the whole and tie it together.

Among these comments we find statements such as: "The American bourgeois-democratic revolution . . . did not of course destroy the social basis for anti-semitic prejudice" (p. 47). "The impulse [to Reform Judaism in the United States] came from the needs of the rising Jewish middle class . . ." (p. 171). ". . . capitalism was not able permanently to supply the needs of the working masses" (p. 217). The Confederate point of view is that "of the reactionary classes in the South" (p. 481). "The editorial . . . hints at the fundamental cause when it notes that capitalism stimulates sharp practices without regard to race, nationality, or religion" (p. 511).

And, in similar vein, Zionism is linked to imperialism (p. 630), or the westward movement of the American frontier came from "the desire to extend the capitalist market into new areas of consumption" (p. 223). Since the ideology which is expressed in these examples—many more like them can easily be found—and which permeates the editor's introduction, represents orthodox Marxist thought, this reviewer questions the value of interpretations written from so biased a position, especially when they are introduced into an otherwise critical collection of documents.

Mr. Schappes, who was on the staff of City College until 1941, currently teaches a course at the so-called School of Jewish Studies, entitled "The Marxist Institute on the Jewish question" (cf. *The American Jewish Committee Library of Jewish Information*, Nov. 16, 1950).

*Drake University*

FRANK ROSENTHAL

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY. By *Edward Dumbauld*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1950. Pp. xiii, 194. \$3.00.)

THE Declaration of Independence has acquired so sacred a character among Americans that this line-by-line exegesis will be welcomed as an introduction to the study of the document. Though it will not replace the more scholarly works by Becker, Boyd, Friedenwald, and Hazelton, it does offer a convenient explanation of every passage, mainly in terms of the events that preceded the Declaration and of the earlier writings that may have influenced it. In spite of the title there is little discussion of what the Declaration means today or of what it has meant during the hundred and seventy-five years since its adoption. The virtue

of the book lies in the fact that a student can open it and find at once an explanation of any part of the document. The deficiency which accompanies this virtue is that the most controversial passages cannot be dealt with at the length they deserve. The question, for example, of whether the Declaration created thirteen independent states or one is dismissed a little too easily. Although, as the author emphasizes, the concluding paragraph of the document affirms the power of the several states "to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do," nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that all but one of the things specifically named either had been done or would be done by the Congress before the war was over. The words "that all Men are created equal," perhaps the most controversial words in the Declaration, receive only two pages. On the other hand there are excellent discussions of "the Laws of Nature" and of "Consent of the Governed."

Historians may find cause to quarrel with a few of the author's interpretations. The reviewer was disconcerted to find an article of his own cited to support an interpretation of the Stamp Act controversy which the article had attempted to refute. The words, "cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World," probably do not refer to the Navigation Acts, for the Declaration arraigns "the present King of Great Britain," not his predecessors. It is true that the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs ("He has erected a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their Substance") was proposed as a measure of convenience to the colonists, but it should be recognized that the convenience was not one which the colonists had sought and that the officers were responsible for many of the incidents which nettled colonial tempers in the 1760's and 70's.

*Brown University*

EDMUND S. MORGAN

APPEAL TO ARMS: A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Willard M. Wallace*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. Pp. viii, 308. \$4.50.)

THE revival of interest in military history has led in recent years to much new work on the War of American Independence. That war still has a fascination of its own: it was waged over vast distances and for vast stakes, yet by miniature forces; it was bungled by incompetent commanders on both sides, yet ended with the most brilliant combined operation of the century. Such contrasts give the war its distinctive character, which custom cannot stale.

Mr. Wallace has caught that character. The struggle he portrays is alive and in motion; it has all the ingredients of reality, drab and heroic. He has read widely in the literature of the subject, from the classic authorities to the newest monographs, and has managed to integrate his material in a relatively brief account. He has also managed to hold the balance between the combatants: the

British receive almost as much attention as the Americans, and Washington's blunders are shown as clearly as Howe's. The result is an impartial and eminently readable story.

It contains, like almost any study of this scope, dubious and even erroneous statements. Most of them are either obvious misprints or trivial. The only one of real importance is the conclusion (p. 270) that the British "controlled the sea throughout the war" except for a short time in 1779 and in 1781. Actually they either lost control of North American waters or came within an ace of losing it at least once every year after France entered the war. Long before Yorktown, in other words, they had been amply forewarned by experience.

Why did they keep getting into such straits? For three years they frittered away their best chance of winning the war, and for the next three years wandered down the road to disaster. Why? Part of Mr. Wallace's announced purpose is to "redefine and reinterpret" the problems of the war, among which this British ineptitude is probably the greatest. He redefines it clearly; the reader is left in no doubt as to where Howe or Cornwallis or Graves went wrong. He reinterprets it by embodying the conclusions of recent research on particular campaigns, although he ignores the crucial relationship between British strategy and British domestic politics. The problem as a whole he carries no nearer to solution, except as he brings together many of the findings on which a future solution will have to be based.

The treatment of the American war effort is excellent. All the principal elements are brought out, including the disreputable, and they are skillfully inter-related. For an American audience this synthesis is as valuable as a consideration of why Britain lost the war. Within the limits he has set himself, in short, Mr. Wallace has succeeded. He has written a critical, concise, and vivid narrative, which ought to be welcome both to the specialist and to the general reader.

*University of Michigan*

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

VIRGIN LAND: THE AMERICAN WEST AS SYMBOL AND MYTH. By Henry Nash Smith. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xiv, 305. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Smith offers this volume as a contribution to the history of American thought and feeling, with particular reference to certain western phenomena. His book falls into three principal divisions, "Passage to India," "The Sons of Leatherstocking," and "The Garden of the World." A prologue, "Eighteenth Century Origins," indicates his point of departure. Four essays or chapters constitute his first division. Here his piece, "The Untransacted Destiny: William Gilpin," which deals with a forgotten but interesting figure and his neglected but notable book, is easily the leading one of the group. It amounts to a real contribution well and instructively narrated.

To develop his second division the author requires six chapters, which

bring together much intensive study of well-known writers like Cooper, and of suggestive or informing penmen and others of the literary half-world. Continuing the study of dime novel writers begun more than a decade ago by Merle Curti, the author extracts gold from dross, and demonstrates the growth and decay of various literary conventionalizations of such western types as the hunter, the mountain man, and the rough and ready bad man. This section is well rounded off by a chapter on "The Dime Novel Heroine."

The farmers' West is the subject of the third division. Here the author touches on agriculture and the American ideal, the politics of land, the new farmlands as a refuge (safety valve) for the defeated and dispossessed, and much else that is related thereto. All in all, then, the author has brought both a plenty of new material and has fused it with other more familiar matter to produce a stimulating study. He has been at pains to write clearly and hence his pages are pleasant ones to read, although at times when he makes play with "myths" and "symbols" the reader wearies just a little. It is to be hoped that his use of these terms will not prove catching, for in less skilled hands such terms could lead to pernicious results.

Though the design seems to encompass the subject of attention, actually the total subject, larger somewhat than Professor Smith appears to sense, eludes him in the end. This book is a part of a book. For one thing, it begins too late. It is an error of primary importance in the plan to commence the study with the middle eighteenth century. We may go back a full century and more, and find evidence relevant and apposite. Thus, when the young governor of Restoration East New Jersey landed in his new province, of set purpose he carried a hoe over his shoulder and from the hat he wore there fluttered a ribbon, of color green. The young Carteret was giving expression to seventeenth century agrarian symbolism. And but a few years later a neighbor of his, Daniel Denton of New York, wrote (1670) of that province in such glowing terms that one sees that already the Atlantic West, the salt-water frontier, had imposed itself on contemporary minds. Such early matters Professor Smith has quite left out, and so the roots of his subject are left unexcavated. The point could be developed, in connection with several other aspects of the book. The passage to India theme, for example, has a genealogy that goes back to the summer of 1607, as far as this central seaboard is concerned. Jefferson inherited the problem, first posed for that geographical sector by "Western" men in late Elizabethan times.

The section on "The Sons of Leatherstocking" affords many contrasts between the western rovers and the men of the settlements, the squires, landed gentry. There is the contrast between boorishness and civilization, between life on the march and life well rooted; between reliance on primitive strength, and trust in the supporting bonds of custom. The author seems to hold that this dichotomy is purely American. But is this so? When we turn to Europe, do we not see martial and naval ways of life contrasted with home-keeping customs of the well-seated squires, the well-rooted townsmen? On one hand Drake and Hawkins,

on the other Gilbert White of Selborne and a goodly company of sessile ones. Plainly, there are several English ways of life, which call out contrasting types to play distinctive roles on the wide stage that is life. And what of the opposition of officer-class tradition to bourgeois tradition in the old military monarchies on the Continent? It would seem that though the European terms may be different, yet the underlying "American" contrasts are again present. So are the American experiences, despite superficial differences, brought close to the European experiences, and hence both tend to be combined into a larger unity.

Professor Smith has made a beginning with a large subject; however, *Virgin Land* leaves much land still open for the tilling in many seasons yet to come.

*University of Texas*

FULMER MOOD

THE OLD NORTHWEST: PIONEER PERIOD, 1815-1840. In two volumes.

By R. Carlyle Buley. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society; distrib. by Towers, LaGrange, Ill. 1950. Pp. xiii, 632; viii, 686. \$12.00.)

IN all historical writing, few scholars have succeeded in recreating a period as successfully as Professor Buley in these exciting volumes. Upon them he lavished twenty-five years of loving labor. To them he brought an astounding diligence (one chapter, for example, contains 658 footnotes, many citing from two to a dozen sources), a calm objectivity, a readable style spiced with wry humor, and a feeling for the past all too rare among historians. The result is a minor masterpiece.

Professor Buley begins his study in 1815, when the close of the War of 1812 launched the "great migration" into the Old Northwest, and ends it rather abruptly in 1840, a date which he believes "roughly marks the end of the pioneer period." Within this quarter-century span he lavishes most of his attention on the people themselves—how they lived, their farming methods, the ills that beset them, their religious practices, their cultural interests, and their means of communication. Only 177 of his 1,318 pages are devoted to unadulterated political history; 216 describe the settlement process, 300 are allotted to economic progress, and 556 to social history.

This proportion allows Professor Buley to make several significant contributions. His chapters on western diseases, education, and literature might well stand as separate monographs by themselves; many a historian's reputation rests on less voluminous research than went into any one. Only a student who has tried to reconstruct the settlement pattern in the West will appreciate his painstaking research in tracing the course of the frontier advance. Similarly his discussion of western roads is unique in both thoroughness and originality. Multiplication of such examples would only illustrate the many areas in which Professor Buley's diligent research has shed new light on the obscurity of the past.

Yet his principal contribution is in no one section of the book but in his whole approach to the subject. By placing his reader in the Old Northwest dur-

ing those years of rapid growth that followed 1815, Professor Buley allows him to see the problems of life on a raw frontier through the eyes of a pioneer. He shares with that pioneer the back-breaking task of clearing the soil, planting the first crop, and building a log cabin. He suffers with the frontiersman periodic bouts with the ague; he shares his pleasures at a corn-husking or a wedding frolic; he enjoys with him the extravagant humor of a tall tale. More significant, perhaps, is that the reader views national affairs during this period through the eyes of the backwoodsman. Professor Buley's chapters on politics not only reveal the importance of local issues in deciding elections but shed light on the pioneers' reaction to Jackson's Maysville veto, the manipulations of Nicholas Biddle, and the Panic of 1837.

This emphasis is both the strength and weakness of Professor Buley's book. He has written not an interpretative history of a section, but a narrative of a people. His concern is not with "why," but with "what." Thus a reader can follow the advance of settlement in Indiana with an exactness unapproached in any other study, yet be left with many questions unanswered. Did the speculative activities of Henry L. Ellsworth and his friends alter the occupation pattern as Paul W. Gates has suggested? Did the state's bad reputation as a land of "swamps and bogs" discourage the migration of New Englanders, as Richard Power has attempted to show? Did the differing character of the soils north and south of Shelbyville moraine create differing civilizations? Did the New Englanders and Southerners who occupied Indiana modify their imported institutions under the impact of the new environment, or did tradition prove so strong that their former habits of life prevailed?

For these, and for countless similar questions, Professor Buley offers no answers. He writes, it would seem, without being influenced by any philosophy of history. Thus, although a staunch Turnerian, he displays little interest in determining whether sectional or class interests shaped western attitudes toward national issues. Similarly his chapters on social and intellectual history indicate a greater concern with chronicling than interpreting past events. In many sections he has done little more than present an impressive array of facts, leaving to others students the task of distilling meaning from his evidence.

This does not mean that Professor Buley's service to the profession should be underrated, or that he is incapable of outstanding interpretative passages. In one magnificent section on the western character (I, 358-94) he writes of the pioneer with an insight and understanding unrivaled in the literature of frontier history. For his complete immersion in his subject allows him to see those backwoodsmen as they really were, not as they were pictured by hostile travelers or romantic sympathizers. "In estimating these people and their work," he concludes, "the contempt of superiority is not less to be guarded against than the idealization which ascribes superabundance of vision, courage, industry, and virtue to them. After all, they were just folks, doing their day's work, and caring little for the verdict of history."



All in all, this is one of the few important books on the American frontier to appear within the past decade. The profession owes a debt of gratitude to Professor Buley for his staggering labors, to the Indiana Historical Society for a handsome job of printing and illustrating, and to the Lilly Endowment, Incorporated, for the financial support that made its publication possible.

Northwestern University

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON

EARLY AMERICAN METHODISM, 1769-1844. By *Wade Crawford Barclay*. Volume II, TO REFORM THE NATION. [History of Methodist Missions, Part I.] (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church. 1950. Pp. xi, 562. \$3.50.)

Dr. Barclay's second volume of the "History of Methodist Missions" has the same chronological scope as Volume I, *Missionary Motivation and Expansion*, namely, the period 1769-1844. The six lengthy chapters include one on Methodism and reform, two on Indian missions, east and west of the Mississippi respectively, while the three remaining ones deal with the Methodist "way," the "message," and the ministry.

The volume is well and interestingly written. The careful reader will gain a very definite comprehension of the spirit, the genius, the organization, the appeal, and the reasons for the enormous success of the denomination in gathering its membership. Only the two chapters on Indian missions are burdened with the encyclopedic details that characterized the first volume, and the desirability of presenting a rather complete record perhaps made this unavoidable.

The critical attitude of the author is refreshing. In presenting the great accomplishments of the denomination, Dr. Barclay does not overlook the compromises and failures. More than once after taking an uncompromising stand on some reform issue the Methodists had to sacrifice morality for expediency. Thus the early stand against buying, selling, distilling, and drinking spirituous liquors had to be relaxed in favor of a less rigid position against disorderly conduct caused by drink. Numerous Methodist laymen as well as some ministers drank and dealt in ardent spirits. Nevertheless, Methodism as a denomination presented a strong and aggressive stand against the evils of alcohol.

Similarly the early disapprobation of slavery as "contrary to the laws of God, man and nature" were relaxed, and Dr. Barclay condemns the thesis that "compromise was necessary that the church might grow."

In their lack of touch with industrial workers, the Methodist leaders failed to realize the implication of the new labor movements of the Jacksonian period. Consequently, few societies were formed among this class. It is well pointed out, however, that, in contrast with British Methodism, the American circuit system did not provide the type of ministry necessary to reach the urban industrial centers.

In presenting the institutional and spiritual factors in the Methodist "way,"

Dr. Barclay rightly attributes much of the success to the fact that it was a people's movement. The emphasis upon free grace made conversions open to all, irrespective of rank or class, and the denomination addressed itself to society as a whole. The author's position that Methodism was recruited mainly by the continuing conversions in innumerable local societies rather than by sporadic tidal waves of evangelism in the camp meetings may well be questioned. Significantly enough, although camp meetings became an integral part of the Methodist "way," they never became officially recognized. Dr. Barclay properly stressed the "social cement" which the fellowship of the classes and bands provided, as a strong factor in the Methodist appeal.

Despite its great success, there were decided shortcomings in the Methodist ministry. Ministers as a group failed to perceive the social and institutional consequences of sin as against the merely individual effects. Insufficient emphasis upon training caused the preachers to rely heavily on the literalness of the Bible, thus "qualifying the richness and strength of the Christian appeal." So direct and simple was the gospel appeal that it tended to become repetitious exhortation. And yet so practical was the message that such a doctrine as sanctification or spiritual perfection was gradually abandoned as inconsistent with human nature. So also the small groups for intensive spiritual cultivation called the bands proved to be too personal and so much like the Roman confessional that by 1844 they had all but disappeared. A rather strangely inadequate part of the church's program was the failure to train children and integrate them into the life of the church.

This history, in addition to covering the conventional aspects of Methodism, also shows the relation of the church to the general cultural pattern of the era. The thorough bibliography indicates that the writer has explored a wide variety of sources by no means restricted to the denomination under consideration. The splendid format and inexpensive price of the volume are a credit to the publishers and should attract many readers beyond the pale of the Methodist church.

*University of Maryland*

W. M. GEWEHR

JOHN C. CALHOUN: AMERICAN PORTRAIT. By *Margaret L. Coit*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1950. Pp. ix, 593. \$5.00.)

WELL written, the product of much research in manuscript collections, newspapers, and contemporary travelers' accounts, this book by Margaret L. Coit is an excellent synthesis of the life and times of John C. Calhoun, one of the greatest statesmen and political philosophers of the nineteenth century United States and certainly the most influential defender of the "Old South."

It is a warm, sympathetic account of Calhoun's career that the author gives us. One of the outstanding virtues of this biography is the vivid re-creation of the personal life of the statesman, who is too often remembered only as the "cast iron man." Using to the fullest extent the available correspondence and the

memories of contemporaries, especially those of foreign visitors, Miss Coit with keen understanding and deep feeling weaves together the life story of the lonely, meditative boy who "lived entirely within himself," of the courtship and married life with the vivacious and domineering Floride, of the ambitions and dreams of the fiery young War Hawk and Secretary of War, and of the series of defeats and bitter frustrations dating from the break with Andrew Jackson.

Interspersed between the chapters which treat of Calhoun's political fortunes is a vivid description of life at Clergy Hall (Fort Hill), an understanding analysis of the personality and tribulations of the wife of the senator, and an excellent survey of the background and significance of the Peggy O'Neil Eaton affair, the intellectual and social life of Washington and Charleston are well described and the careers of the leading politicians of the period are skillfully etched. In her treatment of the South Carolinian's political contemporaries, Miss Coit reveals a high degree of impartiality, although it is quite obvious that she is somewhat friendlier toward Tyler, Lowndes, and Webster than toward Jackson, Van Buren, Benton, and John Q. Adams. Jefferson Davis, Calhoun's own choice as his successor, does not fare well at the hands of Miss Coit. That he was of much less stature than the great Southerner is certain, but in the mind of this reviewer he is here dealt with too harshly.

Regarding the career of Calhoun, the author's interpretations vary in detail from preceding works. She takes sharp issue with those who would divide the statesman's career into two distinct periods. She insists (and rightly so) that "basically Calhoun was at once a nationalist and a sectionalist from the beginning to the end of his career" (p. 104). Miss Coit portrays Calhoun's actions as those of a moderate, always intent upon preserving the Union. Thus he had "devised nullification, not only as a possible cure-all, but as a safety-valve to divert the pent-up disunionist sentiment" in South Carolina (p. 236). She further contends that he had always endeavored to restrain the extremists "to turn the flank of the secessionists." At first he had tried to syphon off this Southern nationalism through the individual states. By the mid-forties, however, he saw the futility of his efforts. His last full avowal of state rights took place in 1844. After that regionalism—the entire South—occupied his mind rather than just South Carolina.

The sectionalism of 1850, however, as the state rights of the 1830's, was designed to secure Southern rights within the nation. Miss Coit implicitly rejects the theses of Messrs. Hofstadter and Current that Calhoun desired simply to promote minority privileges rather than minority rights. She maintains that his supreme battle was in defense of "all the shifting minorities in the complex Union of the future" (p. 190), not simply of the South of his day. Miss Coit rejects Mr. Current's view that Calhoun was a reactionary, not at all interested in liberty, and that he was desirous of uniting the business leaders of the North to the Southern planter aristocracy. However, Miss Coit agrees with A. M. Schlesinger, jr., that the South Carolina statesman regarded the rise of indus-

trial capitalism as a greater threat to the security of the South than the rise of the labor movement with the attendant danger of social revolution. Further, she is in accord with Schlesinger's interpretation of the "year of decision" (1837) in which Calhoun decided to unite the Southern agrarians with the Northern "city laborers and bosses" within the embrace of the Democratic party.

Miss Coit seems to share fully Calhoun's opinions concerning the evils of industrial society. Her pages are replete with criticisms of that aspect of the rise of modern America, which she ascribes to the 1840's. While she has little sympathy for the abolitionists, she holds no brief for slavery. She is definitely of the opinion that it was not essential to the Southern way of life and that the gradual emancipation by Southerners was possible and a feasible solution to the problem. Miss Coit discusses the tariff controversy in considerable detail and emphasizes that it divided the nation long before the issue of slavery. It is argued (and rightly so) that the tariff struggle between Jackson and Calhoun so divided the agrarian sections that the West and the South could not stand united in the advent of the Civil War.

As well written and scholarly as this biography is, there are several things that mar the work. While the volume should not be classed as a panegyric upon Calhoun, the writer does tend to credit the subject with too many accomplishments. One may readily admit that Calhoun was an excellent Secretary of War and yet put in a demurrer when it is claimed that he "placed the Department on so firm a foundation . . . it faced the tests of both the Mexican and Civil Wars" (p. 128). In stating this Miss Coit goes considerably farther than Gaillard Hunt, whom she cites as her authority. One may also question the point that Calhoun's policy of justice and moderation toward the Indian was the one disinterred by Carl Schurz a half a century later. Further it seems to this reviewer that the author overstates Calhoun's importance in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine and in the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute.

Occasionally there is a tendency on the part of the author to accept apocryphal stories and family legends as if true. For the most part these tales are used for local color and human interest purposes. They make for easy reading and general interest, but in some instances they are confusing and misleading and have little or no historical value.

Despite any shortcomings this biography of John C. Calhoun may have, it is by far the best one-volume work that has yet appeared. Combining scholarliness with a rare gift of narrative skill, Miss Coit has succeeded in producing an important, vivid, and dramatic life of the Carolinian. Undoubtedly it will vie with Charles Wiltse's excellent volumes as the standard work on John C. Calhoun and his times.

*Queens College*

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

THEODORE WELD, CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM. By *Benjamin P. Thomas*.  
(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 307. \$4.25.)

STUDENTS of antislavery have been aware of Weld as a notable crusader since at least the publication of the late Gilbert Barnes's *The Antislavery Impulse* (1933), a studied attack on Garrison's role in the movement, and indeed his right to any serious consideration, as well as a highly eulogistic statement of Weld's stature; as Barnes put it in his *Dictionary of American Biography* article: "Weld was not only the greatest of the abolitionists; he was also one of the greatest figures of his time."

Barnes's polemic, fortified by subsequent publication of the Weld-Grimké correspondence, does not seem to have stirred the imagination of students, though some have noted the general thesis involved. Mr. Thomas' monograph should be welcomed as a conscientious effort to recapture Weld's life and achievement as he sees them. In effect, Mr. Thomas accepts the Barnes thesis. Giving less attention to Garrison's New England "coterie," he centers his tale on Weld and those Weld is deemed to have summoned or led to substantial antislavery accomplishments.

One unfortunate result of Mr. Thomas' effort to depict Weld as a man of central significance is that many others active in antislavery in the 1830's are made to appear run-of-the-mill by contrast. Weld's pamphlets are treated as major events of their time, though they no more than take their place among others such as those by Birney, Garrison, Jay, and Goodell. The stirring quality of Weld's speeches is treated almost as unique, though it takes little reflection to realize what a gallery of antislavery orators his times could boast. When Weld wins Abby Kelley to antislavery, she exemplifies his broad influence, even though she became one of the most extreme of the Garrisonians. When Garrison wins Whittier to antislavery, however, it is quickly noted that Whittier was to depart from Garrisonian tenets. George Bourne, John Rankin, Joshua Leavitt, and a host of others who can claim individual honors add little more than *décor* to the present picture, and some figures of higher significance are scarcely recognized at all. The fact is that the 1830's teemed with first-class antislavery figures, and to ascribe outstanding effect to any one of them without duly recognizing this fact, is, however unintentionally, to distort the picture.

Mr. Thomas' most interesting effort is to develop Weld's significance in decades subsequent to the 1830's, when Weld for the most part left the antislavery field to concern himself with personal affairs. Mr. Thomas does this mainly by attempting to show that Weld loomed large in the work of John Quincy Adams and Harriet Beecher Stowe, among others. This line of thought becomes far-fetched, on occasion, as when Joshua Giddings defies an antagonistic Congress, resigns his seat, and returns to Ohio for vindication. "But the abolition seed that Weld and his coworkers had sown in the Western Reserve had made rank growth, and Giddings won a signal victory" (p. 211).

The most surprising omission is of quotations from the pamphlets and at least discussion of the highly touted oratory. Mr. Thomas believes Weld's Bible argument against slavery, though influential, is best left undisturbed. His *Slavery As*

*It Is* is an arsenal of facts rather than the expression of a striking personality. The quotations from Weld's letters, though they sometimes advance the narrative, do not add flavor to it. Mr. Thomas does not, then, succeed in limning Weld's personality, or explaining such personal influence as he exerted. He should be thanked, however, for having broken further ground for a figure of undoubted importance in the antislavery crusade.

*Antioch College*

LOUIS FILLER

LINCOLN AND THE PRESS. By *Robert S. Harper*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951. Pp. xii, 418. \$6.00.)

"ONE major book on Abraham Lincoln remained to be written: the story of his handling of the press and how the press reacted to him . . ." Robert S. Harper, who identifies himself as "a newspaperman for many years, a lifelong admirer of Lincoln, and student of the Civil War period," assumed the task of producing this book. After "exhausting" the writings of other historians who had "hinted at the rich store of information to be explored," Harper went to "the yellowing files of the newspapers themselves. There it lay, the whole story of Lincoln and the press." This volume can best be reviewed by evaluating these claims which appear in the preface.

It is altogether likely that more than one major book about Lincoln will appear in the future. *Lincoln and the Press* cannot be placed among the important ones that already have appeared. At most it is a minor contribution to the crowded field of Lincolniana. It presents in some detail an enormous list of instances of mob violence against newspaper establishments, of arbitrary arrests of newspaper editors, of suppressions of newspapers by military and civil officers, of actions by postal authorities to ban "disloyal" newspapers from the mails, and of exclusions of certain newspapers from various military districts. But the organization of this material is so illogical and unsystematic that one wonders at times whether the author wrote from handfuls of notes selected at random. The book lacks the virtue one normally associates with history written by journalists: readability.

Nowhere is there any clear analysis of Lincoln's policy toward the press, especially of his position on censorship. Instead there are scattered accounts, most of them familiar, of his dealings with individual editors. The character sketches of these editors are uniformly shallow. There is nothing like an adequate sampling of press opinion upon the major events with which Lincoln was associated. The author selects his quotations with an almost unfailing instinct for the trivial and with a fairly consistent aversion for matters of importance. He piles editorial upon editorial to prove the well-known fact that some editors went to extremes in their denunciations of Lincoln and his "abolition crusade."

Mr. Harper is guilty of a number of factual errors that no student of the Civil War period ought to make. His footnotes and bibliography do not indicate that he has exhausted the important writings of other historians, for numerous works

that should have been helpful to him are missing. Several historians—Professor Randall, for example—have done a good deal more than “hint” at the richness of this subject; in fact they have dug into it far deeper than Mr. Harper has. Finally, the “whole story of Lincoln and the press” certainly cannot be found in “the yellowing files of the newspapers themselves.” Much of the story is to be found in many printed sources which the author did not use, and in the manuscript collections of newspaper editors, which he ignored completely.

Little remains of Mr. Harper’s claims, except that he is a “lifelong admirer of Lincoln.” This seems to be true.

*University of California, Berkeley*

KENNETH M. STAMPP

NOOK FARM: MARK TWAIN’S HARTFORD CIRCLE. By *Kenneth R. Andrews*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 288. \$4.75.)

MID-twentieth century historical writing has disclosed a growing awareness on the part of the historian of the importance of the study of the particular as the essential foundation for broad generalizations. The biography of the significant individual, the narrative of the rise and course of a business enterprise, the story of a prairie town, and the history of a section all at various levels of complexity deal with the particular. The variety within the civilization of a nation of continental proportions reinforces that need for the study of the individual and the local that inheres in the study of any culture.

To such local studies Mr. Andrews has contributed an item unique in its peculiar emphasis on individuals and a locality. Biography forms its central core, yet not the life story of a single person. Mark Twain, Horace Bushnell, Charles Dudley Warner, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Isabella Beecher Hooker, and Joseph Twichell provide the substance of this account of life at Nook Farm. But no portrait is full length. Nook Farm, a small residential community in Hartford, Connecticut, established by the families just enumerated, becomes in the hands of Mr. Andrews a stage onto which actors make their entrances, some near the end and others the beginning of significant careers. The action starts soon after the Civil War and carries on just past the turn of the century. Mark Twain dominates the play only in the sense that he was the most important among the figures in the cast. Mr. Andrews in this piece has rejected the method of the star system, a fact that reviewers of the volume have been inclined to ignore. Too often this work has been included by editors in a new collection of Mark Twain literature and the reviewer consequently has presented it out of perspective. Horace Bushnell, frail in health as he nears the end of his work of channeling the power of Evangelical Protestantism into the Social Gospel, appears briefly in an early scene. Harriet Beecher Stowe, still turning out novels and beset with domestic trials, is a principal character. So also is her eccentric sister, Isabella, devotee of spiritualism and feminism. The portrait of the youngest Beecher sister has the freshness that comes from the discovery of extraordinary new material. Joseph



Twichell, clergyman, not only hikes across the countryside with Clemens but stands in his pulpit preaching to a congregation aware that social and intellectual change is obliterating the America of their youth. Mr. Andrews has given us a local study of a closely knit community whose principal members are no ordinary persons.

The quiet, almost pastoral, drama at Nook Farm coincided with the American industrial revolution and with the full impact of the new science upon the thought of the nation. The meaning of these revolutions for late nineteenth century Americans comes to life in the attitudes and the activities of the Nook Farm group. Religion, social reform, the Wall Street of Jay Gould and Jim Fiske, feminism, and corruption in politically high places not only entered into the conversations of the community members but stirred them to action, as in the collaboration of Clemens and Warner in the writing of *The Gilded Age*. The full meaning of the industrial and the intellectual revolutions cannot be found in the thoughts and doings of the Nook Farm neighbors but this sheaf of related biographies and account of the interrelations of this handful of people provide an unusually penetrating study of the significance of industrialism and the growing importance of science for nineteenth century American civilization. Because Nook Farm united cultivated, intelligent, and nationally significant individuals this drama on a limited stage becomes a microcosm in which the dominant forces of an age come into full view.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

THE ATTITUDES OF THE NEW YORK IRISH TOWARDS STATE AND NATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1848-1892. By *Florence E. Gibson*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 563.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 480. \$5.75.)

THE Irish immigrants who settled in large numbers in New York because of economic difficulties and political wrongs in their native land have always been blamed for much of the character of New York politics, and have often deserved criticism. Dr. Gibson in a careful, detailed study of the most significant period of Irish influence on New York politics, 1848-1892, has documented the grievances other Americans have had and has shown with a combination of a historian's detachment and a human being's calm acerbity many of the reasons for resentment on both sides.

In their own country the Irish were restricted by the thralldom of the Roman Catholic Church and the British government. In New York the wine of freedom was heady and went quickly to their heads. The vote was a proud thing to some, and many of them debauched it for material gain. American political leaders, catering to the "Irish vote" obsequiously and unscrupulously made many of the new immigrants feel that their vote was a canny possession and a means of barter. Since some of the big names in American politics fawned on them and set them

a bad example in barter, it was no wonder that they took to using their votes the way courtesans use their physical charms. These same non-Irish statesmen and politicians made the Irish immigrants feel that they had an exaggerated concern for Irish freedom, whereas their only concern was for Irish votes. Dr. Gibson points out that much of the humanitarian feeling for Ireland, especially during the terrible famine of 1846, was sincere. However, it is clear throughout her book that Irish votes were more attractive to non-Irish office-seekers than any Irish traits or problems.

The Irish, Dr. Gibson's book usefully demonstrates in detail, threw themselves into the varied struggles of nineteenth century America, and their racial and national characteristics had their influences on New York morals and manners as well as those in some other parts of the country. They were, by and large, opponents of the temperance movement. They were, for the most part, on the side of freedom, although there were some Irish elements sympathetic to the Southern states' insistence on slavery. The Irish, sensing the competition of free Negro labor, were strong for the preservation of the Union but opposed to emancipation, and hated the abolitionists almost as bitterly as they did the British, who refused *them* freedom. Many Irishmen, however, fought bravely in Northern armies.

Dr. Gibson's book contains valuable material on the growth of the Know-Nothings and other nativistic movements in the United States as the result of too reckless activities on the part of some Irish Roman Catholic prelates and some Irish-American politicians. Other Americans became unreasonable in their fear of the pope's indirect influence in American life and their determination to prevent poor immigrants from enjoying large shares of their entrenched opportunities for wealth.

During the Fenian movement of the sixties and seventies, which is covered adequately in a chapter in Dr. Gibson's book, it was said that a stranger arriving in New York would almost imagine it was the capital of Ireland. Military expeditions were organized here and in Canada against England, and many politicians and statesmen were afraid to incur loss of Irish votes by firm stands against subversive activity, Dr. Gibson points out. The Fenians were helped by feelings of antagonism in the North because of British sympathies for the Confederacy.

The influence of the Irish-Americans in the Tweed Ring depredations in New York is fully covered by Dr. Gibson. The Irish vote was also important in national and state as well as municipal elections in that hectic period of New York politics during the eighties and nineties. The Democrats, and particularly Tammany Hall, made strenuous and continuous efforts to hold on to their main strength, the Irish vote, while the Republicans did everything in their power to woo it. The Irish had an intense loyalty to their early political love, the Democratic party, and, as Dr. Gibson's account indicates, the Republicans never made important inroads. But, as the proportion of the Irish in New York to the total population diminished with the influx of immigrants of other national origins, so

did the disproportionate influence of the Irish decline in New York and national politics. We all know that even today it is far from negligible, and the same catering to the Irish vote goes on in New York—but there are the Italian, the Jewish, and the old Protestant votes to be considered too. The Irish, as Dr. Gibson points out, were the first group of immigrants to develop a vote because of their group consciousness due to the patriotism born of persecution and their attachment to the Roman Catholic Church. The Democrats won them because the Whigs seemed to them antilabor, anti-Catholic and antiforeigner. Dr. Gibson writes, “As workingmen they supported the growth of labor unions, but not the formation of a separate labor party.”

Dr. Gibson has written her study with a true historian’s perspective. She has confined it to the manifestation of political attitudes. The analysis of these attitudes, she writes, must be left for future study. It is to be hoped that she is engaged in such a useful study to supplement this excellent contribution to American history.

*New York, N. Y.*

M. R. WERNER

REVOLT OF THE REDNECKS: MISSISSIPPI POLITICS, 1876–1925. By *Albert D. Kirwan*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1951. Pp. x, 328. \$4.50.)

FALLING between the period when the historians generally leave off and the period when the sociologists take over—between the end of Reconstruction and the very recent past—the half century studied by Mr. Kirwan represents the most neglected cycle of Southern history. It is therefore a compliment of a dubious sort to say that he has written the best political history of the period covered so far available for any state of the region. The fact is he did not have a lot of competition. But one can go further than this and say that for realism, penetration, and dispassionate analysis the book is an outstanding contribution to the monographic literature on recent American political history.

It was not an easy task that Mr. Kirwan undertook, and he has not attempted to make it easy by separating the “demagogues” from the “statesmen,” or adopting popular simplifications and clichés. He does find that “the central thread in Mississippi politics is a struggle between economic classes, interspersed with the personal struggles of ambitious men.” That sounds familiar enough. And the revolt of the masses, the uprising of the underdog is—or was until relatively recent date—as popular and conventional a theme as one could exploit, particularly if one’s sympathies were with the underdog. But the Redneck has not shared the popular sympathy enjoyed by other breeds of the underdog. His motives have been suspected or misconstrued. His struggles have not fit conveniently into the classic molds. His leaders have been singled out for special opprobrium, and the Redneck himself has oftener than not been the subject of ridicule in fiction and on the stage.

The difficulty at the root of the problem is that the rise of white democracy in the Lower South during this period was regularly accompanied by the rise of race phobia. It is the particular merit of Mr. Kirwan's approach that he faces this unwelcome paradox squarely. He is therefore able to portray the revolting methods of the Redneck leaders in full detail and then as fully describe their constructive achievements in social, political, and economic reform. Whether their achievements were as laudable as their methods were deplorable is a problem he leaves to the reader. The result is a more convincing portrayal of such leaders as Vardaman and Bilbo than has hitherto appeared, and a better understanding of the forces that produced them. The author points out that Frank Burkitt, the Populist, was denounced as a "demagogue" for advocating Negro voting, and that Vardaman was also called a "demagogue" for advocating safeguards against Negro voting. Both men appealed to the same element and preached much the same social reforms. Negro baiting was not the only source of Vardaman's success. Nor was the appeal to race prejudice a monopoly of lower-class leadership. The "respectable" leaders against whom the "demagogues" revolted, from L. Q. C. Lamar to John Sharp Williams, just as surely appealed to race prejudice as did their less reputable opponents. They were less violent, but they did not hesitate to vie with the opposition for the Negro-hating vote. As for the Negro, whether the one element or the other was in power, "he fared the same—no better, no worse."

*Johns Hopkins University*

C. VANN WOODWARD

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL. Edited with a Biographical Introduction by *Eva Ingersoll Wakefield*. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1951. Pp. xii, 747. \$7.50.)

SIXTY years ago the name of Robert Ingersoll was known to most Americans, with reactions to it varying according to which of his many interests or which facet of his personality was of concern to any one individual. Today, when few remember more than his name and the fact that he led the free-thought and atheist groups of his generation, it is fortunate that the letters, so long preserved by the family, should have been prepared for publication by his devoted granddaughter, Eva Ingersoll Wakefield. The man who emerges from the biographical sketches, from the long introductory explanations for each of the categories of letters, and from the varied letters themselves is a whole man—a leader and a crusader for a wide variety of reform movements, an extremely successful lawyer, a renowned orator, a humanist interested in literature and the arts, and a person to whom family and friends were devoted because of his outstanding kindness and appreciation of all human relationships.

Professor David Saville Muzzey, who has written the preface for the book, commends the editor for having given us a faithful portrait of a man "who should never be forgotten" with a "rare combination of ardor and restraint," and Mrs.

Wakefield, admitting that she was in love with her subject, truthfully asserts that she has kept herself within bounds and that she has not written a complete biography but has presented materials of use to the social and intellectual historian and to future biographers. In this she has succeeded admirably, for each of the seven sections of the book throws light on American social mores and institutions of the nineteenth century as well as upon Ingersoll.

Ingersoll's friends were many and the letters to and from them show not only his capacity for making and holding friends and diversity of his interests but also throw light on many of his famous contemporaries. Mark Twain knew him well and loved and honored him; Andrew Carnegie said that to have been his friend was "one of the satisfactions of my life"; Eugene Debs wrote that his whole family loved Ingersoll for his noble defense of the right and "unceasing denunciation of the wrong"; and Walt Whitman insisted that Ingersoll was a man whose spiritual importance to his age could not be overfigured—"A fiery blast for the new virtues, which are only the old virtues done over for honest use again." The friendship and appreciation for these and many other men expressed by Ingersoll himself were equally warm; his address, "A Testimonial to Walt Whitman," contains one of the most understanding and enthusiastic tributes to Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

The section on Ingersoll the agnostic contains the essentials of his philosophy, and Mrs. Wakefield's introductory pages are followed by more than one hundred pages of letters from and to those who agreed with Ingersoll and many more who disagreed with him violently. In his fearless defense of his own position and in his gentleness in answering the often vituperative attacks of his opponents both his courage and his tolerance are evidenced. It is easy to understand the appeal of Ingersoll the orator to the vast audiences that came to listen to his statement of his position on religion and, indeed, to his speeches on many other subjects. His creed was simple: "Happiness is the only good. The way to be happy is to make others so, The time to be happy is now. Help for the living—hope for the dead" (pp. 268-69).

The section on Ingersoll as critic and lover of the arts gives evidence of his wide cultural interests and of his acquaintance with many of the leading men and women in the literary and artistic circles of his day. He had some ability in the writing of poetry, or of poetic prose, and loved poetry. He appreciated beauty in all its artistic forms and was generous in his praise and aid whenever he felt either should be offered. His taste was good, if conventional, and his enthusiasm unbounded.

The family letters are well chosen to show the tenderness of the relationship between Ingersoll and his brothers and his devotion to his wife and daughters. Good taste on the part of the editor has made the section too brief to permit the unusually outspoken sentiment to become sentimentality.

The social historian will find the long last section the most rewarding, for it contains Ingersoll's opinion on all the social issues of the day, from birth control

through freedom of thought to marriage and divorce, prohibition, vivisection, and the rights of women. Since injustice or any sort of discrimination or cruelty roused Ingersoll the crusader, he was the champion of many of the "causes" of the period. He well knew the denial of freedom of thought and of expression that the freethinkers met, and he fought to prevent having infidel books and papers classified as immoral and obscene by the post office department. His social and political philosophy was stated simply: "I am not an Anarchist, a Nihilist, or a Socialist. I am simply a human being willing to give to all other human beings every right that I claim for myself" (p. 666). The book ends with letters illustrating his interest in world peace and unity. The conclusion of the reader after going through the more than seven hundred revealing pages is that Robert Ingersoll was distinctly a man of his own century in his outlook on life, but that, within that framework, he was a great man and a great American.

*University of Minnesota*

ALICE FELT TYLER

PHYSICIAN TO THE WORLD: THE LIFE OF GENERAL WILLIAM C. GORGAS. By *John M. Gibson*. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 315. \$4.50.)

THE story of the life and accomplishments of General Gorgas has been told before and told well. There is always, however, a freshness to the retelling of a good story, especially when it can be adorned with previously unknown details and can be told with the warmth of feeling and sincere admiration revealed by Mr. Gibson. A former newspaperman and now director of the Division of Public Health Education of the Alabama State Health Department, Mr. Gibson takes obvious pride in this retelling of the deeds of one of the great figures of public health and one of the worthiest sons of Alabama.

This is the story of a modest, sincere gentleman whose life was devoted to a single goal—the saving of human life through the prevention of disease. Mr. Gibson portrays his hero as a lovable leader, meticulous in his adherence to the highest ethical standards, dogged in his purpose and firm in his determination. His General Gorgas is at the same time a soldier who marches stalwartly into battle with disease and even delights in the skirmishes with colleagues who would block the progress of his warfare on sickness.

The role of Gorgas in the eradication of yellow fever and malaria from Havana is well told without in any way detracting from the glory that properly belongs to the Reed Commission or to Carlos Finley. Equally successful is the story of the indispensable role that Gorgas played in making possible the construction of the Panama Canal. The account of Gorgas' many clashes with the Canal Commission—"and more especially Mr. Grunsky"—and his feud with Goethals is clearly presented and adequately documented. Equally clear and heroic is the account of General Gorgas' clashes with the general staff and the Secretary of War while he was serving as Surgeon General of the Army during World War I. There is

no doubt in the mind of the author—or of the reviewer—as to the soundness of the programs for which Gorgas stood and the credit which history must accord him.

Equally well told is the story of Gorgas' endless fight with administrative red tape that hampered his work. The reader sees an arrogant officialdom, steeped in worship of administrative details, placing its stupid ignorance above the technical skill and knowledge of the scientist already internationally recognized for his accomplishments, who had learned from long experience. So clearly is this aspect of the story told that the reviewer would suggest that this volume by Mr. Gibson be made required reading of all students in university courses for public administration, of all budget officers, government purchasing agents, and directors of civil services—if they could only learn!

Mr. Gibson has told his story well. He has not attempted a scholarly history, with extensive footnote documentation. Rather has he set himself the task of a popular account of the life of a great hero whose name and fame will long endure. The author's admiration for his hero is most evident for he tells the story with enthusiasm and obvious pride. At the same time he has adhered strictly to both historical and scientific accuracy and avoided cheap and verbose sensationalism—a most refreshing relief from much of the current popular medical writing. Mr. Gibson and Duke University Press can take justifiable pride and satisfaction in this volume.

*University of Minnesota*

GAYLORD W. ANDERSON, M.D.

**THE GREAT ILLUSION: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF PROHIBITION.**

By *Herbert Asbury*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1950. Pp. viii, 344. \$4.00.)

HERBERT Asbury is ideally qualified to write this book. His earlier explorations with Methodism and the Barbary Coast had made him familiar with the major contestants in the long war for and against Demon Rum.

In this "informal history of prohibition" Asbury plays hob with most of the mythology that has grown up among both wets and dries concerning the Noble Experiment. Among the myths that die at Asbury's hand is the legend that prohibition was "put over" during the war while "the boys" were away. "Actually," he says, "the fight for national prohibition was won at the elections of 1916, which were held five months before the first American registered for the draft and more than a year before any large number of American troops landed in Europe."

Another hoary myth exposed is that which described the saloon as the "poor man's club"—or as a kind of mutual aid society presided over by a genial, and philosophical bartender. Actually, says Asbury, "As an institution the saloon was a blight and a public stench . . . dingy and dirty, a place of offensive smells, flyblown mirrors, and appalling sanitary facilities. It ignored the law . . . cor-



rupted the police, the courts, and the politicians. It was a breeding place of crime and violence . . . the backbone of prostitution; . . .”

Asbury believes prohibition to have been a colossal blunder, based on the “great illusion” that temperance can be compelled by sumptuary laws. He does not, however, suffer from the myopia of other “wet” authors concerning the manifest evils of the traffic in strong drink. *The Great Illusion*, though replete with examples of dry fanaticism, hypocrisy, and chicanery, makes clear that in terms of venality, political corruption, and sheer immorality, the liquor trade outdistanced the prohibitionist by a wide margin. The Anti-Saloon League, he points out, “did nothing that wasn’t also done by the forces opposed to prohibition.”

No brief review can do justice to this significant and fascinating study. From colonial days to the present, Asbury describes the drinking habits of the American people, the evils attendant upon the unrestricted manufacture and sale of intoxicants, the efforts at reform and regulation culminating in prohibition, and the final strategy of repeal. Colorful, fanatical, honest, and hypocritical, but often politically sagacious, crusaders against Demon Rum are the *dramatis personae* of this book. Dr. Dioclesian Lewis, and his “visitation bands,” Frances Willard, “Pussyfoot” Johnson, and many others come to life in these pages.

Good wines, beer, and liquors receive their just praise as aids to good and gracious living. “The Good Creature of God,” as liquor was called in some colonial laws, “was considered a prime necessity, an indispensable part of clean and healthy living.” But it was and remains also a prime weapon in the arsenal of the devil. The lethal quality of some of the concoctions our forefathers drank—Jersey Lightning, Blue Ruin, Rum Flip—was as nothing compared to the vile stuff consumed from 1920 to 1934. Their effects upon the consumer were often described with painful accuracy by the popular names under which they were sold. Scat Whiskey, Happy Sally, and Jump Steady, will recall to survivors some of the brands sold by good-natured bootleggers in silent partnership with friendly undertakers. Read Asbury’s description of “Jake paralysis”! It’s enough to make your flesh creep.

The years of the great illusion are gone. What of the future? Have the manufacturers and purveyors of alcoholic beverages learned their lesson? Have the American people learned how to use “the Good Creature of God” to enrich life and not to destroy it? Asbury is frankly skeptical:

Well, of course, there are now no “saloons.” Instead there are grills and cocktail lounges. But by and large it is the same old rose with the same old smell. Anyone who will walk along Bourbon Street in New Orleans . . . [or] South State Street in Chicago, and any of several streets in New York, and observe what the seller of liquor-by-the-drink is doing with his second chance, is almost bound to recall one of Will Roger’s famous sayings:

“The poor dumb clucks. They ain’t learned a thing!”

*University of California, Berkeley*

PETER H. ODEGARD

F. D. R.: HIS PERSONAL LETTERS, 1928-1945. In two volumes. Edited by *Elliott Roosevelt*. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1950. Pp. xvii, 738; 739-1615. \$10.00.)

THE appearance of the final volumes of the personal letters of Franklin D. Roosevelt completes this remarkable project less than six years after Roosevelt's death. Here is a compilation roughly comparable in size to the letters in the Nicolay and Hay edition of Lincoln's works, but available a generation sooner; no similar edition of Wilson letters has yet been published. The 2,700 pages of Roosevelt letters provide the historian with a fairly extensive collection far earlier than has been the case with other major American figures. Unfortunately, though, they are more impressive for their volume than their content.

Elliott Roosevelt has conferred a boon upon historians only incidentally, since obviously his aim was to attract general readers who might follow the letters, if not in book form, at least serially in newspapers or picture magazines. Undoubtedly one of his criteria for selection was reader interest; the other, and more important one, was availability of material.

As a result, from volume to volume, the contents have differed drastically in type. The first one, covering up to 1905, is close to exhaustive on Roosevelt's boyhood and youth; it is based almost entirely upon family papers not available elsewhere. The second volume, 1905-1928, is also largely a compilation of family letters, but with heterogeneous additions. It contains few letters to friends, and publishes little or nothing on many phases of Roosevelt's public life. The present volumes, covering 1928 to 1945, the highly significant years when Roosevelt was governor and President, are almost the reverse. They contain relatively few family letters; there were not enough to fill even one small volume. Instead they consist largely of a selection from the personal and official files now open at the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, and almost entirely concern Roosevelt as a public figure. The result is a mixture of highly significant letters and completely trivial ones, samples of routine answers and of form letters, scraps of dictated reminiscences, two short bits of diary, letters to Roosevelt, and from one person to another concerning Roosevelt, and even the draft of a speech Roosevelt would have delivered had the administration lost the Gold Cases. The editing also represents a sharp change. In the second volume, several undergraduates did most of it; in the present ones it is entirely the work of Joseph P. Lash, a youth leader during the New Deal.

As a whole, these volumes, like a pack trip through some fairly bleak area in the west, require much of the reader, who will be jolted about, and must put up with much of little interest in return for glimpses of some remarkable phenomena. The reader of any collection of letters must expend considerable effort to form his own image of personalities and events. Roosevelt's mode of communication was so customarily oral that in his case the reader's effort is especially necessary. Part of the letters are as completely a waste of print as a note to Jesse

Jones thanking him for some grapefruit, and a good many have already appeared in memoirs such as those of Hull and Churchill, or are so purely official and obviously not written by Roosevelt that they might better appear in a State Department or other appropriate publication. There are the Roosevelt jokes, often with a sort of Hasty Pudding Club air, but illustrating the high good humor with which he customarily conducted his affairs. And there are occasional fine letters that do illuminate important facets of Roosevelt's personality and activities.

The *Personal Letters* do serve as a starting point for research on Roosevelt. They give the reader a good idea of what his files were like and, through the copious editorial notes, Lash's version of the New Deal and the war. The transcripts are accurate, and, in happy contrast to the Victorian discretion of Nicolay and Hay, seldom suffer from deletions. The index is far superior to those in earlier volumes, though it does not, for example, mention the significant correspondence on unconditional surrender on pages 1485-86 and 1504, 1505. The serious scholar can go to the material now available at the Roosevelt Library, of which these letters form only a very small part. For instance, they contain only about half the letters to Josephus Daniels, and several of those omitted are among the most valuable.

This amateurish compilation is by no means comparable in quality or significance to the *Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, but it is a useful though random sampling. Until the appearance of a definitive compilation, it will be the standard printed source.

University of Illinois

FRANK FREIDEL

CHIEF OF STAFF: PREWAR PLANS AND PREPARATIONS. By *Mark Skinner Watson*. [United States Army in World War II: The War Department.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1950. Pp. xx, 551. \$3.75.)

THOUGHTFUL citizens who wish to understand the military problems which a democracy like the United States must solve will find this an exciting book to read. Any who are uneasy about militarism should find their fears allayed, because the story offers an outstanding example of the civilian control of military power and the dutiful subordination of very able, strong-minded military leaders to their constitutional superior and to the elected representatives of the people. Patriots can take pride in an account of the exercise of supreme command on a scale previously unimagined and with an efficiency and success unprecedented in our history, an undramatic performance of heroic, but little noticed, proportions. If, however, the foregoing suggests that Mr. Watson has written a panegyric, nothing could be farther from the truth. He has, in considerable detail, written a plain, unvarnished tale, objective, restrained, and realistic, but understanding.

It carries conviction by its simplicity and candor. "The record," he writes, "shows the errors; it does not provide sure evidence that the alternatives would have been more profitable." Anyone troubled over recent events in Korea and Europe will be struck by the similarities between present and past difficulties. The author, however, is very cautious about emphasizing the "lessons" which should have been learned. His description of the prewar period presents rather the dilemmas inherent in the functioning of a democratic government. An awareness of those dilemmas is essential to the success of such government, and it is clear that the military leaders recognized and respected these democratic peculiarities. In so doing they contributed much to a victory for democracy by demonstrating how the American democracy could become a great military power on a global scale.

There are many complexities in the waging of modern war which are easily ignored by the ordinary citizen and which remain obscure unless they are described in detail by some one who appreciates what they mean. The author of this volume has had to keep in mind several trains of thought at once and to be aware of what was going on elsewhere which bore upon the Chief of Staff's work without being part of it. He has explored a large body of source material, both official and unofficial, has digested a lot of data in order to understand what was happening, and has then told his story in a way which clarifies a series of complicated and important situations concerning American preparations for war as handled by the Army high command. These involved the three-cornered relationships existing between President, Chief of Staff, and Congress, and the adjustment of policy decisions, military necessities, and political possibilities. The period covered is that before Pearl Harbor. This means that the difficulties were at their worst because real war had not yet simplified the problem and hushed the political wrangling. It is this which makes reading this volume so timely in 1951.

In the later chapters the further complications of dealing secretly and somewhat suspiciously with an ally who was not yet recognized publicly as such come into the picture. This serves to introduce the reader to a basic, if prosaic, problem, the allocation of materiel where it will do the most good. There is a very important, detailed account of the strategic co-ordination arranged with the British during 1940-41. This is illustrated with lengthy quotations from significant documents supplementing those to be found in the recent Churchill and Sherwood volumes. Your reviewer regrets that they do not include the German staff study of December 14, 1941, evaluating the secret American Victory Program published, without authorization, by the McCormick newspapers a few days before Pearl Harbor. A footnote calls attention to this captured enemy document.

For the student of personalities this volume helps to show the extent to which the successful conduct of affairs is influenced by the kind of men who do the planning and make the decisions. But this is made clear without being dramatized and with only a few personal touches. The story includes, besides the President and the Chief of Staff, a considerable number of officers whose names are

not so widely known but whose professional activities and contributions are worthy of record because of their importance. Some of this gives glimpses of the free discussion and the disagreements within the staff which are preliminary to decision. In this connection the reader's attention may be drawn particularly to the considerable amount of strategic planning and preparation which was necessary for eventualities that never materialized but which were too well within the bounds of possibility to be neglected. At the end there is an excellent analysis and summary of responsibilities for Pearl Harbor. This comments upon "the succession of errors and mischances" which must be included in evaluating the failure at that time of American strategic thinking.

*Williams College*

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE U.S. MARINES AND AMPHIBIOUS WAR: ITS THEORY, AND ITS PRACTICE IN THE PACIFIC. By *Jeter A. Isely* and *Philip A. Crowl*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 636. \$7.50.)

This book is the result of a contract between two ancient and respectable institutions—Princeton University and the United States Marine Corps. It was planned, the authors explain, "not as another history of operations" but as a study of the development of "a doctrine of amphibious fighting" and the application of the doctrine in the Pacific War of 1941-45. Actually, it *is* "another history," but an analytical one, emphasizing amphibious procedures and lessons learned; and since it covers a very large proportion of the Pacific operations (all those in which the Marines were concerned) and is obviously based upon a thorough examination of U.S.M.C. records, it is important alike to students of United States history and students of war.

Messrs. Isely and Crowl make no secret of the fact that they are convinced believers in the Marine Corps as a national institution, and they put the Marine case as strongly as they can. And they have no difficulty whatever in establishing that the Marines worked out a sound doctrine for landing operations in the years before the last war, and subsequently applied that doctrine with great effect in 1941-45. No one can read their book without grasping the significance of amphibious operations in modern war, and the vital importance of maintaining a live organization for the constant study of and experimentation in amphibious techniques. This, of course, is not to say that it is essential to maintain a whole special army for that purpose; about that there can still be two opinions. Sometimes the authors indulge in special pleading, but the fact remains that, with respect to operations in which the Marines were directly involved, their analysis is in general complete and fair to all parties. Their account of the unpleasant "Smith-versus-Smith" affair on Saipan seems to the present reviewer a rather notable piece of objective writing. Within the limits of their approach, the book's only serious shortcomings are the lack of a complete, illustrated account of the

development of landing ships and craft and amphibious vehicles, and the fact that the writing does not rise to the level of the subject.

The authors, however, have compartmentalized their approach too rigidly. They seem to have no interest in amphibious operations generally, but only in those of the U.S. Marines. We are shown little or nothing of the interplay of amphibious experience between the Pacific and other theaters; for example, we see the headquarters ship, with special communication facilities, making its appearance in the Pacific in 1944, but we are not told that this idea had been fully developed in European waters much earlier. The authors' information about landing operations in which the Marines did not take part seems to be as defective as their knowledge of Marine ones is comprehensive; yet in spite of this they have chosen to attempt by implication to depreciate the former in comparison with the latter. The U.S. Army's landings in Sicily were not "at Palermo" (p. 67) nor would most people agree that its Attu operations "cost little" (p. 199). Most remarkable, however, are the statements about the Normandy assault. Not only is the old legend of the German division "on maneuvers" on Omaha Beach resurrected—evidence of the state of the authors' knowledge—but they have the assurance to assert that there was "relatively little resistance along most of the Allied beaches." The Third Canadian Division attacked an average section of those beaches; and it suffered on D Day 335 fatal casualties—very nearly as many as the Fourth Marine Division on the first day at Iwo Jima, and about twice as many as the Fifth Marine Division (p. 482). This reviewer would like to see Mr. Isely and Mr. Crowl explaining to the survivors of that Canadian division, or any other Normandy assault division, that "the assault began, not along the coast, but after the beachhead had been secured, in the breakthrough at St. Lô" (p. 10). He nominates this as the most grotesque historical statement of the past five years. And the saddest thing about it is that the authors' inclusion of a comparatively few remarks like this will blind many readers' eyes to the fact that, within the rather narrow bounds they have set for themselves, their book is a very sound and useful production.

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C. P. STACEY

BREAKING THE BISMARCKS BARRIER, 22 JULY 1942–1 MAY 1944. By Samuel Eliot Morison. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume VI.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1950. Pp. xxix, 463. \$6.00.)

THE Bismarck Barrier was a combination land-sea-air roadblock of strong Japanese bases centered around the powerful and pivotal fortress of Rabaul at the northern tip of New Britain Island. It was flanked in the Papuan Peninsula by such strategic positions as Lae, Salamaua, and Finschhafen and protected

from the south by the scattered and inhospitable group of islands in the Solomon chain whose narrow, reef-infested waters made operations in any part of the area extremely hazardous. This volume covers the significant period from the feeling-out and uncertain actions of mid-1942 to the final capture of the Admiralty Islands in May, 1944, when Rabaul was ringed and neutralized, and thousands of Japanese soldiers and sailors isolated in the Solomons to "wither on the vine." It includes the shoestring operations of General MacArthur's Southwest Pacific Area command in the swampy and steaming jungles of New Guinea and the numerous and risky fleet and land actions of Admiral Halsey's command in the South Pacific.

Morison's excellent book fills an important gap between Midway and Guadalcanal on the one hand and the opening of the Central Pacific front by Admiral Nimitz and the great thrust to the Philippines by General MacArthur on the other. It represents a vital and anxious interlude in the timetable of war in the Pacific when the Japanese were being reluctantly but steadily pushed back from their outer perimeter of conquest to a position where they were irrevocably forced on the defensive. During this highly significant period the United States with her worthy allies, the Australians, New Zealanders, British, and Dutch, grasped the initiative and swung the balance slowly and securely in their favor.

Like the old seadog historian that he is, Morison reports directly from the bridge, and his story profits from close personal contact with many of the men and actions he describes. Visits to Admiral Halsey's headquarters in Noumea, General MacArthur's headquarters at Brisbane, trips to Port Moresby and Milne Bay and the coast of Papua, and participation in the Central Solomons campaign under Rear Admiral Ainsworth have put the author in a position to make lively, on-the-spot reports and stamp his story with an authoritative label. A trip to Tokyo in the spring of 1950 and talks with some of the leading Japanese commanders in the field have also enabled him to spice his narrative with a more authentic and piquant Japanese flavor than his other volumes on the history of the naval war in the Pacific.

The volume is well documented both from United States and Japanese sources, but the story on Japanese planning (pp. 15-26) requires comment. Whereas there is little doubt that excessive respect for rank in the Japanese Navy did not provide the freedom for suggestion generally attributed to lower-ranking officers in the United States Navy, it is not true that the prerogative of Japanese naval planning was strictly reserved for those on the highest echelon of command in the Naval General Staff in Tokyo or in the Combined Fleet. The illustration which the author uses to punctuate his point (p. 21) is misleading. As a matter of fact a great deal of the strategical and tactical planning for the Pearl Harbor attack did not come from the Japanese admirals. The original idea germinated in the fertile brain of Admiral Yamamoto, commander in chief of the Combined Fleet, but the strategical and tactical plan was worked out to an almost unbelievable extent by "lowly" commanders on the staff of the Combined Fleet, the operations



section of the Naval General Staff, and even more particularly the staff of the First Air Fleet. There were also some good solid arguments and no mincing of words by the planners in the lower brackets vis-à-vis the lofty admirals before the fateful strike was launched. The same can be said concerning Japanese planning for the battle of Midway.

A word too about interrogations. Like learning, they are dangerous things if there are too few of them and if they are not used carefully. No one could expect the author to question all Japanese commanders during his visit to Japan, but the right people could have been consulted on a number of points to his advantage. For example, Morison informs the reader that Foreign Minister Shigemitsu told him that because of the strained relations between the Japanese Army and Navy "General Tojo was still ignorant of the score at Midway one month after that battle" (p. 23). There are two things wrong here: first, Shigemitsu, in spite of his well-established political position, was not the person to consult for military information; secondly, his report to the author is incorrect. Shigemitsu was ambassador to Great Britain in 1941 and ambassador to Nanking from January, 1942, to April, 1943, and not in a position to know too much about military affairs. Any responsible ex-member on the Naval or Army General Staff at the time of Midway could have told the author that Tojo knew all about Midway as soon as the unwelcome information concerning the disastrous defeat reached Tokyo. Not only that, practically every member of the operations section, Army General Staff, also knew the score. That the Naval General Staff was also well informed goes without saying. There are a few other miscues in the volume but it seems that mistakes in writing on Japanese military operations are, like death, inevitable. That they have been kept to a minimum is a real credit to Morison and to his Japanese translator and able assistant, Roger Pineau.

It was not easy to write this book. Of the three essentials to top-notch historical writing—a first-rate story, an abundance of material, and the unquestionable ability to write—the author, through no fault of his own, could not count on the advantage of the first. The history of the eighteen months of bitter land, sea, and air fighting which he so expertly describes presented no great fleets moving into tremendous and epoch-making battle such as Midway or Leyte Gulf. By no magic stroke of the pen could the engagements of Kula Gulf, Kolombangara, or Vella la Vella be given the high drama and significance of the battle of Surigao Straits or the crucial action off Samar in October, 1944. Morison was forced to deal with a series of relatively small and isolated actions—some of the least-known operations of World War II. But he squeezed his documents for every juicy tidbit they contained, and that he was able to draw together the loose fragments of many diverse actions and weave them into a clear, forceful, and intelligible pattern is all the more tribute to his historical craftsmanship. He crowds a mass of detail into his book and he ties together a score of dangling loose ends, but never once does the reader lose perspective.

There is also a lot of salt in Morison's terse and realistic language, and the

personal touch he is able to give his story helps him to score many a bull's eye. A series of brilliant descriptions and the obviously genuine affection with which he writes about the sea and the men who fight across its trackless expanse keeps his narrative vivid and alive. The speed with which the author has been forced to write his volumes (six down and eight to go) may perhaps rob them of some of the high literary quality of his books of a decade or two ago. But there is never any doubt that here is a highly gifted scholar with a remarkably fine talent for telling the story of naval warfare. The author also deserves a salute for his treatment of the battle of the Bismarck Sea and for his welcome corrections of the same that were long in order. His laudatory comments on General C. A. Willoughby's "Daily Summary of Enemy Intelligence" (p. 27) are well-deserved praise. Morison's sixth volume is another resounding success in one of the most prodigious historical writing programs undertaken by one man and a mere handful of assistants in this generation.

*Tokyo, Japan*

GORDON W. PRANGE

SEVEN DECISIONS THAT SHAPED HISTORY. By *Sumner Welles*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1951. Pp. xviii, 236. \$3.00.)

THIS volume has the merit of brevity and forthrightness. The fact that the author was himself a controversial figure within the framework of his book, which appraises men and events, lays him open to the admonition "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Many readers will ask why Welles beholds the mote that is in his brothers' eyes, without considering the beam in his own. However, this is neither here nor there in a review in the pages of a historical journal, where the book must be judged by its value as a contribution to knowledge, however controversial it may be.

From first to last, Welles is an admirer of Franklin D. Roosevelt—for his decisiveness and promptitude, for his perception and finesse, for his ability to see a given problem in its relation to others, for his knowledge of geography, and for his grasp of the principles of geopolitics. His most serious criticism of the President is that he "was occasionally apt to rely too greatly upon a few favorite panaceas for problems that were actually too basic . . . to admit of any easy solution." Welles admits that during Hitler's first years in power, Roosevelt underestimated the extent of the Nazi menace, but he never underestimated the danger to the United States from Japanese aggression.

Throughout, the author is disposed to palliate Roosevelt's mistakes and shortcomings by pointing out that he had to reckon with opposition from Cordell Hull, from cautious officers in the armed forces, from statesmen abroad, and from politicians in hostile camps. He justifies his Far Eastern policy and his policy at Yalta; he attributes his mistakes in these categories to inaccurate information furnished by subordinates and to pressure from military leaders. He argues that it is illogical for critics to allege that Roosevelt's policy has failed when it has

never been given a fair trial. He also points out that the policy of the Soviet government has changed since 1945.

The author's most caustic words are directed against Cordell Hull. In fact, his narrative sometimes assumes the character of a question of veracity between him and the Secretary of State, as, for example, in assessing the results of the conference at Rio in 1942. He asserts that Hull was devoid not only of any knowledge of Latin-American history but also of language, culture, psychology, and economic problems. The responsibility for the loss of the "last frail chance" to prevent the Second World War in the autumn of 1937 is laid at the doors of Cordell Hull and Neville Chamberlain.

Welles is sparing in the use of words in his references to President Truman, but he does not pass over errors in policy and strategy of which the United States has been guilty since the close of the war. At Potsdam, Truman had no qualified advisers, with the result that he was outplayed in every move. The "mission to Moscow" which Secretary of State Byrnes undertook in 1945 is singled out as the "most far-reaching of the errors perpetrated by the government" during the months of that fateful year.

Future historians will pass judgment on Sumner Welles as a statesman and as a historian. Future generations may or may not validate his conviction that the stature of Franklin D. Roosevelt will grow with the passage of years.

*University of Minnesota*

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON

LA RÉPUBLIQUE COMMUNISTE CHRÉTIENNE DES GUARANIS (1610-1768). By C. Lugon. (Paris: Editions Ouvrières. 1949. Pp. 296. 550 fr.)

FROM the first moment that Christopher Columbus set foot on the island of San Salvador the cultures of Europe and aboriginal America were pitted one against the other. There could be little doubt which of the two was ultimately to prevail. Numbers, perfection of weapons, and ingenuity were all on the side of the European. To the greedy or the tough-minded this was sufficient; the Indian should be pushed aside. If he could not assimilate the white man's culture and adjust himself to the complex material civilization of the European then his days were numbered and his fate was no concern of the conqueror. But among the invading race there were some who thought otherwise. There were sensitive souls who recognized potentialities in the Indian. They realized that these primitive, brown-skinned people, if given an opportunity, might be able to assimilate the best in the culture of Europe and, grafting it upon their own way of life, evolve a civilization which would enable them either to resist the impact of the European or perhaps become adjusted more fully to the white invaders. Looking back upon these opinions from the eminence of the twentieth century we cannot help admitting their essentially utopian nature while we admire the humanitarianism which inspired them.

To all the ardent idealists who considered the problem, one great difficulty

stood in the way. How were the Indians to be isolated from the whites long enough to effect any profound changes in their way of life. How were they to be protected from the vices of the European while they absorbed his virtues. The Jesuits believed they had the answer. Experienced in long years of Indian missionary activity they knew only too well the disruptive effect of the presence of Europeans upon the Indian neophytes. They had frequently seen how a small garrison of idle soldiers had served to undo long arduous years of missionary effort. Thus they became convinced that the only way to proceed in their grand plan of Christianization and civilization was to isolate the Indian absolutely from all contact with soldiers, colonists, slave traders, and all the other good, bad, and indifferent odds and ends which composed the European population. Thus were the Paraguayan reductions conceived, thus were the Guaraní of Paraguay introduced to Christian European civilization.

Many studies have been made of this fascinating experiment. The latest treatment and in many ways one of the most detailed in the compass of one volume is the recent French work of C. Lugon, *La république communiste chrétienne des Guaranis*. The author, who has made a careful study of the accounts of missionaries and travelers, has presented a sympathetic and interesting analysis of this experiment. He recounts the whole history of the reductions from their foundation, through the troubled days of the raids of the Brazilian slavers, the golden age of their prosperity, and their final dissolution with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions. The method of dividing labor according to ability and skills, of distributing food and clothing, of functioning without a currency, of mutual defense against the Paulistas and of mass education in manual skills and artistic endeavors is most carefully set forth and described. The author takes great care to present the human touch throughout, citing a wealth of incidents to illustrate the life of the reduction villages.

This most successful of all utopian experiments came to an untimely end with the expulsion of the Jesuit Order from all the dominions of the crown of Spain. Other orders which tried to fill the breach lacked the numbers to spare in the work. Finally the missions fell into ruin, and the Guaraní either remained in the vicinity or else migrated farther back in the forests. But after a century and a half of vigorous life, the embers of the flame kindled by the padres continued to glow even to the middle of the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that López in 1848 put an end to the Guaraní communal settlements and placed the Indians upon reservations, there was found in 1851 far up the Parana a colony of three hundred Guaraní families subsisting by means of the most primitive agriculture and preserving intact the religious practices taught to their ancestors by the Jesuits.

In conclusion one might observe with Lugon that while there were many problems in the management of the reductions, within their confines the basic problem of mutual charity and co-operation was closer to solution than in the Spanish colonial society in the surrounding area; the Jesuits had insured a large

measure of justice to their charges while a general atmosphere of peace prevailed. What disturbances there were came from the outside and when the padres were ultimately forced to arm the Indians it was to repel the brutal raids of the Paulista slavers. While the environment of these reductions, considered from present-day standards, was relatively simple and primitive and could scarcely be imitated in our complex industrial society, Lugon seems constrained to express the wish in closing that the principles which inspired this tropical utopia might be studied and adapted to our troubled modern world.

University of Notre Dame

THOMAS E. DOWNEY

CRÓNICA RAZONADA DE LAS GUERRAS DE BOLÍVAR. In three volumes. By *Vicente Lecuna*. (New York: Colonial Press. 1950. Pp. xxvii, 545; 487; 653.)

ONE of the most amazing figures to appear among the ranks of Latin-American historians is the accomplished scholar Vicente Lecuna. Though a banker and businessman, and eminently successful in his profession, he has spent a very considerable part of his life and energy in restoring to its original luster the memory of the great Liberator, Simon Bolívar. As witnesses to his indefatigable enthusiasm for his subject, we have not only his editions of Bolívar's letters and speeches, together with numerous articles covering the work and the career of the illustrious Venezuelan, but his restoration of Bolívar's birthplace, which has become a shrine of hemispheric significance. Señor Lecuna, now almost of biblical age, continues to advance, persistently and tirelessly, into the hopelessly entangled details of the War for Independence, and presents us today with a three-volume history of Bolívar's campaigns. The work, remarkable in size and scope, is entitled *Crónica razonada*, and indeed its manner of narration reminds us not infrequently of earlier chronicles in its primitive charm and passionate bias. However, although Señor Lecuna is not a professional historian, he does have a ready command of the techniques and methods necessary for a reconstruction of past events based on all available evidence, and he is, moreover, well able to discuss these events with an eye to their significance, not only for the Latin-American independence movement but for world history as well. The desire to build on first-hand source material has guided Señor Lecuna throughout his endeavor; to quote him, this chronicle is "*Formada sobre documentos, sin utilizar consejos ni versiones impropias. Conclusiones de acuerdo con hechos probados, y naturaleza de las cosas.*"

In the course of his protracted research Lecuna has been able to fill in many gaps which are to be found in the documentary evidence presented in various collections dedicated to Bolívar's life, such as those of Yanes y Mendoza, Blanco y Azpurúa, and O'Leary. Some of Lecuna's findings have been published in the *Boletín* of the Academy of Caracas, and the remaining mass of material is avail-

able to the interested historian in a typewritten collection of more than twenty volumes which forms a part of the Biblioteca Bolivariana of the same academy.

Lecuna's extensive spadework has enabled him not only to trace the thread which may lead through the labyrinthine wilderness of the War for Independence with greater accuracy than all previous historians but also in many instances to restore to their true significance the dramatic events of fifteen years of warfare. Cases in point are his descriptions and analyses of the two battles of Carabobo in 1814 and 1821 respectively, the fight to maintain the fortified camp at San Mateo in 1814, the expedition that set out from Haiti in 1816, the campaign for the conquest of the Orinoco River, to mention only a few.

Señor Lecuna's painstaking research, moreover, has not only enlightened the military aspects of the War for Independence but has also contributed to a fuller understanding of the many economic and administrative problems engendered by the uprising of the American patriots. He gives a graphic account of the strangling lack of arms, supplies, and transportation which hampered Bolívar throughout "*la guerra a muerte*"; he emphasizes the importance of maritime connections for the importation of weapons, pointing out that Venezuela's production of arms was at that time extremely limited; he presents a clear and concise analysis of Bolívar's administrative achievements after the conquest of the Orinoco basin. It is no exaggeration to say that Lecuna's work, which embraces the greater part of his previous essays scattered in various magazines and bulletins, will be indispensable to every student of this period.

The high merit accorded the *Crónica razonada de las guerras de Bolívar* in the above paragraph does not, however, preclude a certain diversity of opinion on the part of this reviewer. Some of Lecuna's judgments on Bolívar's decisions, as well as much of his appreciation of particular military or political situations with which the Liberator had to cope, seem blurred by a mist of preconceived ideas. A definite tendency to exonerate the Liberator from all responsibility for the failures which inevitably occurred in the course of so long and so cruel a struggle seems to blind Señor Lecuna to the factual evidence which he himself has accumulated. Carúpano, 1816, Ocumare, 1816, Bomboná, 1822, and the whole problem of San Martín's meeting with Bolívar in Guayaquil in 1822 are some of the high spots in which the eulogistic propensity of Lecuna's work is all too obvious.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the divergences of opinion noted above, Señor Lecuna's work offers an immense contribution to a solidly constructed history of northern South America. Even those who find they cannot assent to this elevation of the Liberator to the lofty heights of the demigod will benefit greatly from the patient labor which, over a period of decades, has unearthed so great an amount of documentary evidence and many a time shown its true significance in the texture of its time.

Señor Lecuna, who is adept at drawing maps, has enriched the volumes with

many sketches of Bolívar's campaigns. The appearance, the presentation of material, and the critical index of the three volumes are excellent.

*Sweet Briar College*

GERHARD MASUR

VIDA Y OBRA DE SARMIENTO EN SÍNTESIS CRONOLÓGICA. By *Julia Ottolenghi*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Kapelusz. 1950. Pp. viii, 387.)

THIS guide to the life and work of the great Argentine educator and president, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, will be of practical value in the location of information about that author's individual articles or for any study of the many and diverse aspects of his work. Obviously a labor of love, the book is based upon a long and patient collection of an immense amount of data, not only from the edition of the *Obras completas* but also from national, provincial, and private archives, the publications of the Comisión Nacional de Homenaje, and the works of many Argentine and foreign authors. It is completed by a valuable list of forty-two pseudonyms used by Sarmiento, with indication of date and place of use, by a nine-page bibliography of works about him, and by an excellent reproduction of the portrait painted by his granddaughter.

Arranged by year, month, and day, the book lists events in the life of Sarmiento, with each notation followed by specific indication of the source of information. Item by item, the book documents the man's intense interest in education, as well as giving the record of his military service, his travels, and his political and literary career.

One aspect of this work which is of exceptional value is the identification of many a newspaper editorial with specific articles printed in the *Obras completas*. Now that newspaper files are no longer complete, each identifiable item becomes a positive contribution to a knowledge of Sarmiento's journalistic work, while each which can still only be entered as an "Artículo editorial" will indicate lines for further investigation.

A similar care in the filling in of missing data is to be found in certain precise information noted about Sarmiento's return to Chile after his 1847 visit to the United States. From New Orleans, he had stated his intent to proceed to Cuba and then "work his way" back to Chile by lecturing and writing articles for the press in the Spanish-speaking countries on the way. Miss Ottolenghi has succeeded in filling in this blank in the story to the extent of tracing the travels in Cuba. The record would seem to indicate a need for further research on the topic of the journalistic work done in that country and possibly in Peru.

Again the precision of this guide makes ever more clear the fact that much of Sarmiento's personal life still remains to be told. A plaguing curiosity arises from a reading of the notations on the birth of his daughter (July 18, 1831) and that of Domingo Fidel Castro (April 17, 1845); his marriage with Doña Benita Martínez Pastoriza, viuda de Castro (May 29, 1848); and the note for May, 1857, to the effect that "*Doña Paula Albarracín de Sarmiento y sus hijas solteras se van*



*a vivir a San Juan.*" Again, for the year 1836, there is a single entry: "*Siente la atracción del juego. Enferma. Sufre una crisis de abulia. Regresa a San Juan y se salva física y moralmente.*"

It is because Miss Ottolenghi's study has so clearly organized the present state of knowledge about Sarmiento's life and work—and made her own notable contribution to that knowledge—that the lines of further research are as clearly drawn. In this dynamic aspect of the study is, perhaps, its greatest worth.

*University of New Mexico*

MADALINE W. NICHOLS

## \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

### General History

FROM NAPOLEON TO STALIN: COMMENTS ON EUROPEAN HISTORY. By A. J. P. Taylor, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. (New York, British Book Centre, 1950, pp. 224, \$3.00.) These twenty-nine essays range over a wide variety of subjects without attempting either chronological or topical continuity. Thirteen are book review articles: on three items concerning Napoleon; two studies of Friedrich von Gentz; the recent memoirs of Caillaux, Flandin, Bonnet, Gamelin, Reynaud, Schacht, and Cordell Hull; Erich Eyck's work on William II's government; *Ciano's Diplomatic Papers*; Elizabeth Wiskemann's *Rome-Berlin Axis*; and *Nazi-Soviet Relations*. Four are interpretations of De Tocqueville, Emperor Francis Joseph, Bismarck, and "Two Prime Ministers"—Lord John Russell and Salisbury. The rest deal with aspects of the revolutions of 1848, with German unity, French North Africa, Fashoda, the *Entente Cordiale*, Tangier, Austria, Trieste, "Tito and Stalin," and "Two Congresses"—the Paris historical conference commemorating 1848 and the Wroclaw Congress of Intellectuals. Most of the essays first appeared in English periodicals; that on Trieste was a pamphlet prepared at the request of the Yugoslav government. Taylor writes smoothly and brilliantly—sometimes too brilliantly. I find in flipping back through the pages of my copy that my marginal exclamation points alternate with question marks. There are many well-coined phrases of the kind that anyone might wish he had made himself, such as "Hitler was Napoleon's Caliban" (p. 24). But there are just as many questionable generalizations. For example: "The 'good Europeans' who began with Gentz, Metternich and Talleyrand ended with Laval" (p. 31); "The rights of man triumphed in the streets of Paris; the rights of nations in the streets of Vienna [in 1848]" (p. 40); speaking of Horthy, Dollfuss, and Schuschnigg, "the Italian control of Trieste was the origin of their power" (p. 193). Such aphorisms and half-truths shake serious students out of thought-ruts but are pitfalls for the unwary. While these essays whet the appetite, they fail to satisfy. Some are too elliptic in style; others manifest too little of that solid, scholarly study which should be reflected in the best journalistic efforts of the trained historian.

DWIGHT E. LEE, *Clark University*

CONSERVATISM REVISITED: THE REVOLT AGAINST REVOLT, 1815-1949. By Peter Viereck, Associate Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949, pp. xvi, 187, \$2.50.) This work is a defense of conservatism in both its nineteenth and twentieth century varieties. Through brilliant generalizations Professor Viereck tries to show how many of Metternich's ideas can be incorporated in a sound conservative program with which to fight the evils of the twentieth century—totalitarianism and exaggerated nationalism—and bring about the realization of "a cosmopolitan Europe united in peace" (p. xi). As is the case with almost any work in which an author boldly challenges established and perhaps preconceived ideas, there are some assumptions the author makes which are open to question or which need further clarification. In the first place, it should be brought out that the "humanist reverence for the dignity of the individual soul" which he emphasizes as the "core and fire-center of conservatism" (p. 6) was the basic tenet of

Metternich's chief enemies—the liberals—and not of the conservatives of *that era*. The same can be said about the author's emphasis on the necessity for a Bill of Rights (pp. 20–22): it was the early nineteenth century “Jacobin” liberals, and not the conservatives of Metternich's type, who insisted upon a Bill of Rights and upon constitutions. Although it is easy to associate the ideas of such men as Father Jahn and Kleist with those of the National Socialists, as does the author (pp. 57–58, 61–70), his assertion that “Stein's reforms turned out to be but tools to serve Prussian nationalism and German nationalism” (p. 56) needs further proof. It is difficult to designate Metternich's plans for the reform of the Austrian Empire, in which he wanted to give more power to the traditional old provincial estates, as projects for a constitution and parliamentary government, as Viereck does (pp. xii, 89–92, 97). But criticisms like the above are minor and perhaps too much in the spirit which Anatole France had in mind when he castigated historians in his introduction to *Penguin Island*. Viereck has come out with a challenging new idea, not in rehabilitating Metternich but in showing how many of the ideas of Metternich and other early nineteenth century conservatives can be drawn upon today to strengthen our civilization against the attacks of totalitarians, whether communist or fascist.

R. JOHN RATH, *University of Colorado*

AN INVASION THAT FAILED: THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO IRELAND, 1796. By Comdr. E. H. Stuart Jones. (New York, William Salloch; Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1950, pp. xvi, 256, \$3.50.) Commander Stuart Jones had an unerring eye in the selection of his subject. While it is the account of a failure it is replete with qualities that might well adorn the great successes of history. The setting is magnificent: the French Revolution, its early fervor dissipated, now embarked upon a policy of opportunistic aggrandizement. The personnel is intriguing: in the forefront stand Lazare Hoche, a rival for acclaim of the young Bonaparte, and Wolf Tone, perhaps the most appealing of the Irish revolutionaries and certainly one of the bravest and most dramatic figures of that tragic country. The action is strong and colorful: the preparation, execution, and failure of the expedition to Bantry Bay when misfortune and an east wind saved England from the necessity of a major campaign in disaffected Ireland. The ingredients are good and the book has not suffered in their mixing. Throughout, the study has benefited from its author's knowledge of and love for the sea. Certainly one of the outstanding impressions of this account is that of the difficulty encountered in the efficient preparation of an expedition and the hazards of wind and weather at sea. Indeed the high point of the story is the conflict between men and the elements in Bantry Bay and the failure of the human spirit to surmount the driving chill of an adverse wind. Of lesser interest are the numerous occasions when chance and misadventure—explainable, perhaps, in terms of human weaknesses, yet tantalizingly beyond a complete accounting—intervene to mar the set plan and thus make their contribution of the unwilling to the willed portion of history. The account is drawn from the general and specialized histories of the period supplemented by the documents of the Public Record Office and the Archives de la Marine. The style is agreeable and pleasantly paced, personalities well depicted, and events effectively described to form this work, fashioned with obvious tenderness and care, in “the margin of history.”

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

COMMERCE AND CONQUEST IN EAST AFRICA: WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE SALEM TRADE WITH ZANZIBAR. By Cyrus Townsend

*Brady, Jr.* (Salem, Essex Institute, 1950, pp. xxi, 245, \$3.50.) Mr. Brady's own remarks indicate the limitations of his discursive but entertaining history of East Africa. He is retelling the story for the "curious," the "tourists," and "those who have commercial dealings"; students, he says, can find the details in the works of Sir Reginald Coupland and other scholars. In a bibliographical note he lists miscellaneous travel books, documents, consular reports, and secondary works which, he acknowledges, "are the major sources from which the present book borrows so unblushingly that it might well be termed an anthology." Within these limitations, Mr. Brady's story is well told. He highlights, often with colorful quotations, the main facts concerning early Arab and Indian penetration of East Africa, the rise and fall of Portuguese influence in the area, the Salem trade with Zanzibar, and the establishment of the Congo Free State. The author's account of the Salem trade with Zanzibar is an interesting reminder of the importance of American merchant shipping in the heyday of the sailing vessel. From September, 1832, to May, 1834, thirty-two out of forty-one vessels recorded as arriving in Zanzibar were American. By 1881 only six out of eighty-eight were American, for the British steamer had gradually taken the place of the American sailer. During these years, however, the superiority of Massachusetts cotton goods, the main Salem export to Zanzibar, was manifested in novel ways. "Amerikani" or "Merikani" became the ordinary word for calico in Swahili, the *lingua franca* of East Africa, and the author cites one observer who reported that Africans in the interior wore their loincloths with the trademark "Massachusetts Sheeting" proudly and conspicuously displayed. Mr. Brady has had a varied career as a civil engineer, world traveler, photographer, and author, but he lacks the training of the historian. He regards Tippu Tib as "without question . . . the most outstanding African" of the nineteenth century (p. 166), and Leopold II as "one of the most farsighted statesmen and accomplished business men of the age" (p. 158). Readers may disagree with these and other judgments but still enjoy Mr. Brady's book.

VERNON MCKAY, *Washington, D.C.*

THE HEBREW IMPACT ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION. Edited by *Dagobert D. Runes*. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1951, pp. xi, 922, \$10.00.) *Caveat lector!* The work under review is a blot upon American scholarship and a disgrace to the publishing business. It does not deserve serious consideration. Irresponsible in the handling of facts, unbalanced in judgment, it is also marked by numerous manifestations of bad taste. The relatively small amount of good and reliable material included in the volume is insufficient to cover up the superficial contributions by reputable authorities (such as Cecil Roth, Rudolf Kayser, Hugo Bieber) and the far greater amount of uncritical and unreliable material in the rest of this large volume. The work, the editor tells us, is "a book of propaganda." That indeed it is. The more serious charge, however, is that it is such awfully poor propaganda. There is little indication of either careful editorial planning or systematic editorial supervision, both of which are indispensable in a co-operative publication. Each author is permitted to provide his own lengthy historical and "philosophical" introduction to justify the "propaganda" being carried on. Problems of space, paper shortage, high printing costs and similar material considerations apparently were of no concern to authors, editor, or publisher. The result is a surfeit of repetitiousness and gross duplication, not only between several authors but also within single essays. Most of the contributors show very little care in listing persons whose Jewish affiliation has been denied or seriously questioned. Süßkind von Trimberg, Saint-Saens, Ravel, Charlie Chaplin, and H. L. Mencken are but a few such instances of better-known figures.

Conversely, L. L. Bernard writes on Jewish sociologists and anthropologists in the United States without so much as mentioning either Franz Boas or Edward Sapir, the two most creative Jews in these fields. It is a pity that several reputable scholars have lent themselves to such a co-operative venture and that sound and worth-while essays like Maurice J. Karpf's on "Jewish Social Service and Its Impact upon Western Civilization" and Karl Schwarz's "The Hebrew Impact on Western Art" are bound to be discredited because of the company they are in. Those who are interested in the subject of Hebrew influences in Western civilization will do well to go back to the older, but scholarly, *Legacy of Israel*, edited by E. R. Bevan and Charles Singer.

KOPPEL S. PINSON, *Queens College, New York*

THE BRITISH PRESS AND WILSONIAN NEUTRALITY. By *Armin Rappaport*.

[Stanford University Publications, Series in History, Economics, and Political Science, Volume VII, No. 1.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. 162, \$2.50.)

This is a worthy project well executed. In brief, the author has retold the familiar story of Wilsonian neutrality, 1914-1917, and has richly embellished it with the comment of British journalists and editors on events as they unfolded. The result is that one is enabled to see the first three years of the war through a composite British editorial eye. Mr. Rappaport overlooked no major source of British editorial opinion, and so careful and thorough was his research that it is safe to predict that the job will not have to be done again. In fact, we badly need similar dissertations on French and German reaction to Wilson's neutrality policies. In so far as he stays within the bounds of his subject, the author is on solid ground. This reviewer, however, would take issue with him on some of his basic assumptions about the war and on some of his remarks about certain American leaders like Colonel House and Walter Page. Mr. Rappaport seems to write from the point of view of the so-called "revisionists," which holds that American interests were in no way fundamentally involved in the outcome of the war. All of this, of course, is a matter of judgment, and the criticism is meant in no way to detract from the competence and usefulness of the book. It is remarkably free from petty errors and contains a useful appendix listing and describing the important British periodicals and newspapers cited.

ARTHUR S. LINK, *Northwestern University*

UNRRA: THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION. In three volumes. Prepared by a Special Staff under the Direction of *George Woodbridge*, Chief Historian of UNRRA. (New York,

Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. xxxv, 518; xii, 601; xiii, 520, \$15.00.) These handsome volumes, two of narrative, one of pertinent documents, present the official history of the nearly five years of UNRRA's existence, November 9, 1943, to October 1, 1948. Director Woodbridge and his staff combed millions of pages of material, including individual monographs, "Council documents, Committee documents, agreements with governments and other organizations, the Director General's reports, financial reports, special reports, periodic reports prepared by divisions, bureaus, missions, offices, and other administrative units, cables, letters, intra-administration memoranda, invoices, bills, bills of lading, and many other types" (I, x). Culled records to be deposited with the United Nations will amount to over fifty million sheets of paper. From the documents comes a highly factual, informative, and yet interpretative account of the origin, organization, and operation of this temporary international body for the relief and rehabilitation of victims of World War II. Anglo-Americans brought the humane agency into existence, and "contributions made

by the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada accounted together for 94 per cent of the total operating contributions" (I, 108). However, the contributions of all participants were important for success. The world-embracing nature of UNRRA produced unique problems in organization and administration. The recruitment of personnel was a difficult problem. This emergency agency naturally went rapidly through the three stages of springing into being, functioning in many countries, and suffering speedy dissolution. Liquidation involved the transfer of work and of personnel to other agencies. These well-organized, analytical volumes present the field operations in Europe and the Far East. The procurement and distribution of supplies in the various countries are clearly described and evaluated. The problems of displaced persons are set forth. Contrary to much popular belief, such persons often did not wish to return to their homes. Vita on personnel, the text of resolutions, agreements, administrative orders, and other documents are reserved for Volume III. Maps, tables, graphs, charts, indexes, and a chronology complete the official record. The conclusion drawn is that the agency functioned smoothly as long as international co-operation remained at a high level. When dissension appeared, the organization was liquidated and the uncompleted work handed over to other bodies. The men responsible for this history have succeeded in reducing a mountain of documents into a coherent unit. Although an authorized study, it maintains a high degree of objectivity. Students of international organizations, of public administration, and of international philanthropy are provided with a guide and a giant handbook. Historians will be particularly interested in this first stage of reducing millions of pages into thousands for the scholars of the future.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG, *University of California, Los Angeles*

BERLIN COMMAND. By Brigadier General *Frank Howley*, U.S. Army. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1950, pp. 276, \$3.50.) The reviewer must, in honesty, admit to prejudice before he picked up this book, and he must also admit that, once he had picked it up, he could not put it down. He read every page. This does not mean that he likes the book, which stands high in the category of "I and the war" volumes which have been spewed out in great abundance. The book is a bold exposé of conditions (1945-49) in Berlin as the author saw them. Whether one agrees with the author's thesis about Russian perfidy in detail, whether one condones the frequent and frank criticisms of associates and superiors, one cannot accept the brash, unswerving belief in personal omniscience which is implicit in the text. Although the author protests against melodrama, he is melodramatic. The reviewer also was in Berlin (1945-48), but on the staff of General Clay, not of Brigadier General Howley. He also kept a pistol in his bedroom; his family and the families of his friends also lived through part or all of the blockade, but without dramatizing their experiences. The story of the airlift is well told in passing, the argument that the airlift was worth while is probably acceptable to all, as is the argument that the decision of the Western allies to remain in Berlin was the right one morally, psychologically, strategically. The book shows the haste with which it was written; e.g., the tautology of Wannsee Lake, and the explanation of S-Bahn as subway rather than, correctly, as elevated. The book is not intended for the scholar, but the scholar can get from it one man's opinions about his close associates and protagonists.

LESTER K. BORN, *Library of Congress*

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## Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton<sup>1</sup>

LIBERTAS AS A POLITICAL IDEA AT ROME DURING THE LATE REPUBLIC AND EARLY PRINCIPATE. By Ch. Wirszubski. [Cambridge Classical Studies.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 182, \$3.25.) The Romans were all for liberty as preachers are all against sin. Caesar's murderers and Augustus, who hunted them down, both acted to protect freedom. Therefore, a study of *libertas* as a political idea in Rome has no object. Nevertheless, a dissertation of Breslau (by H. Kloesel, 1935) and now this Cambridge historical thesis deal with the subject. The author rightly stresses (p. 132) that the opposition to the Caesars aimed at the establishing of some "effective safeguards against the abuse of power by the emperor." The situation was, in fact, paradoxal. The senatorial class, as the new inscription of Heba shows it again, was a partner to the princeps in the government of the empire. (Cf. F. de Visscher, in the review *La Parola del Passato*, 1950, pp. 118-31.) But the emperor could send any senator into exile or put him to death without any difficulty and even without any trial. The freedom which the senate wanted under the empire was the "freedom from fear." As G. Boissier has stressed it at the end of his book

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



on the opposition under the Caesars (full of discreet reminiscences of the Second Empire in France), this opposition realized its aims in the age of Antonines. A last observation: The author deals with numerous Latin texts. But he never feels the urge to interpret them philologically. Having met with a "somewhat obscure passage" in Lucan, he contents himself with reproducing Housman's paraphrase (p. 124, n. 2).

E. BICKERMAN, *New York, N.Y.*

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## Medieval History

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AN INDEX OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES PUBLISHED IN FESTSCHRIFTEN, 1865-1946, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ROMANIC MATERIAL. Compiled by Harry F. Williams. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951, pp. x, 165, \$4.00.) This book should prove most useful to all students of medieval history. More than any other group, medievalists have been honored by and have contributed to *Festschriften*, and many valuable articles have been neglected because they lay hidden in volumes where standard cataloguing procedures never revealed their presence. This *Index* was compiled by a professor of French, primarily for the use of students of Western languages. This explains and excuses what seem to a historian to be deficiencies in organization and content. Articles are arranged by language (Catalan, Celtic, English, French, etc.) which leads to some strange classifications of historical material and makes it difficult to assemble a list of studies on such a topic as the organization of the church. Apparently Slavic countries were excluded even though they were Roman Catholic; thus Fabre's important essay on "La Pologne et le Saint Siègle" (Monod *Festschrift*) does not appear. Political theory and economic history are slighted. For example, neither *Essays in History and Political Theory* in honor of Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) nor *Facts and Factors in Economic History* by former students of Edwin F. Gay (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) are analyzed, though both contain valuable articles on medieval institutions. There is also incomplete coverage of volumes commemorating institutional anniversaries:

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

both the Harvard Tercentenary and the Congrès du Millenaire de la Normandie are slighted. But these omissions do not destroy the real value of Professor Williams' work; the great majority of *Festschrift* articles (5,238, to be exact) are listed, and we shall all profit from his patience and industry.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER, *Princeton University*

INNOCENT III, CHURCH DEFENDER. By *Charles Edward Smith*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1951, pp. vii, 203, \$3.50.) This little book is not a biography of Innocent. It consists of notes, obviously garnered with enjoyment, from the letters of the pope, and, by this method, the author illustrates some of the activities of Innocent as church defender, church reformer, and crusader. The preface suggests that brief mention of "cases that have been given authoritative treatment" elsewhere has resulted in a "distortion of perspective for the general reader." But distortion results not only from inadequate treatment of too many topics but from the one-sided attitude of the citations. For the letters, of course, present the papal arguments, usually supported by admonitions derived from a conviction of moral righteousness. Nevertheless, Innocent was a diplomat who knew when to compromise, and what he wrote to the leaders of the Fourth Crusade hardly foreshadows what he finally accepted; neither do his letters to John of England suggest that he would become an ardent defender of such a sinner. That Innocent was sincerely interested in sending crusaders to the Holy Land cannot be doubted, but it is difficult to understand how he could have failed to see that the war which he promoted against heretics kept crusaders, who might have gone to recover Jerusalem, at home. By bringing the crusade into western Christendom, the pope not only weakened the Holy Land but he also initiated policies which were to do great damage to the papacy. "Godfrey" instead of "Geoffrey" of Villehardouin appears twice in the text and also in the index. The statement that "the pope used the singular 'vos' in addressing one person, never the plural form" (p. 83) is a grammatical slip not found in the letter referred to. R. L. Poole made the same passage clear: "The Pope now always addressed an individual person in the singular, *tu* not *vos*."

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LES PAPES D'AVIGNON (1305-1378). By *G. Mollat*, Professeur honoraire à l'Université de Strasbourg. (9th ed.; Paris, Letouzey & Ané, 1950, pp. 597.) What was said in this periodical (XVIII [October, 1912], 123-24) concerning the first edition of this useful work still holds good generally for the present edition. It may be convenient, however, to note the principal changes which have been made. The valuable bibliographies have been brought up to date. Throughout the book there are corrections of minor errors and of style. The preface contains some new material and the introduction is entirely new. In the section given to the lives of the popes there is a significant modification in the treatment of the retraction by John XXII of his former utterances about the beatific vision, Petrarch's strictures on the character of Clement VI are discussed critically, and much of the material on the return to Italy of Urban V and Gregory XI has been transferred to the chapter on papal relations with Italy. In the portion allotted to the relations of the papacy with the principal countries of Europe the chapter on Italy has been completely revised and greatly expanded and a large part of the chapter on the empire has also been thoroughly revised. In the chapter on England the account of the relations during the last years of the reign of Edward III has been changed, chiefly on the basis of Perroy's *L'Angleterre et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, but a few other statements which might have been

altered in the light of some of the recent studies cited in the bibliographies remain as they were in the first edition. In the third part, where the central institutions of the church are treated, the changes are comparatively few. The most extensive of them is the addition of several paragraphs to the account of the audience of causes of the apostolic palace.

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## Modern European History

## THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

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ENGLAND: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By Douglas Jerrold. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1951, pp. viii, 341, \$4.00.) The interest in this book lies in the opinions of its author. Although it surveys English history from prehistoric times, it is not intended to be a "short history of England," and the historical background is provided, according to Mr. Jerrold, only so far as necessary for an understanding of today's events and problems. It is a work of interpretation throughout, and the interpretation is that of a firmly Conservative and Christian Englishman with a public school (Westminster) and Oxford background and long contact with literature and world affairs. Douglas Jerrold is editor of the *New English Review* and is author of two novels and several books on history. He holds definite opinions, which he states decisively. It is the historians, says Mr. Jerrold, who impose a pattern on events, and he imposes his own with the greatest assurance. Hence, he frequently finds it necessary to correct the "tissue of absurdities," nonsense, and falsifications that commonly pass for history. The reader already familiar with English history may be delighted or irritated, but he should find many points that will arouse his interest and demand his careful consideration. The reader lacking such familiarity, however, would certainly acquire a one-sided view of England's past. The Stuart kings, for example, seem to have been wholly good, unselfishly devoted to preserving the constitution and serving the interests of the whole people; while the Stuart Parliaments were entirely bad, and "the consequences of their ill-timed appetite for political sovereignty were to be fatal to the common people of England." The chapters on the First World War and the years following are particularly interesting, perhaps the best in the book.

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

Believing that the history of the Second World War cannot yet be written, Mr. Jerrold jumps directly from 1939 to England under Socialism, which he distinguishes clearly from the welfare state. The latter, he says, was the creation of the Conservatives, especially of Neville Chamberlain, with the Liberals responsible "to a far less extent." He regards the welfare state as having many merits and many defects, but Socialism he definitely condemns. Mr. Jerrold's final conclusion is that "the channels of grace are never closed. There lies the abiding hope. But if there is a light amid our darkness and a hint of dawn in the sky, it is a light not of this world and the dawn is of no Utopia upon earth."

CHARLES B. REALEY, *University of Kansas*

THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH SOCIETY: A SHORT ECONOMIC HISTORY. By E. Lipson. (New York, Henry Holt, 1950, pp. ix, 467, \$3.75.) The first six chapters of this book are a selective condensation of Mr. Lipson's well-known three-volume *Economic History of England* (1915, 1931). Words, phrases, even whole sentences, have been transcribed. There is the same emphasis on the "corporate" character of medieval society, on the emergence of individualism during the later Middle Ages and the "Age of Mercantilism," on the growth of laissez faire a century before Adam Smith, and on the falsity of the traditional picture of the Industrial Revolution. Twenty years ago the last three theses, impressively documented, were still fairly novel. Today, thanks in part to Mr. Lipson, they are trite truisms which do not call for emphatic reiteration in a small survey volume. There is no need in 1950 to use quotation marks on the more than two-score references to the "Industrial Revolution." That looks too much like flogging a dead horse or myth. Plenty of new controversies and viewpoints have emerged during the last quarter-century, because of the work of American and British scholars. But Mr. Lipson pays no attention to these new approaches to the subject; for example, he talks of "the transition from a natural to a money economy" (p. 19) as if it is a historically describable event; persists in "staging" the "guild system," the "domestic system," and the "factory system" (p. 53) as a series; and speaks of the "unmistakable proof" of "the increase of prosperity in the fifteenth century" (p. 56). In the last nine chapters Mr. Lipson ventures into what for him is largely new territory—the last two hundred years. His treatment of this "Age of Machinery" is straightforward, interesting, and illuminated by picturesque quotations which read well but sometimes are of questionable weight. The content and arrangement follow a well-trod path—technological changes, the "awakening of labour," the reaction from laissez faire, the free-trade movement, the national economy 1815–1914, the revival of economic nationalism 1914–39, and a brief epilogue. Like many other British writers, Mr. Lipson gives much space—more than a quarter of the pages—to labor conditions, movements, and legislation; but his examination of business organization, capital supply, trade, banking, fluctuations, and other aspects of the economy in operation or of the income it produced is cursory and patchy. There are no graphs or maps, virtually no tables of statistics, no bibliography, and none of those voluminous footnote references which made the three-volume work a veritable guide to the printed sources of English economic history.

HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION TO 1558. By T. M. Parker, Librarian of Pusey House, Oxford. [Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, No. 217.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. viii, 200, \$2.00.)

EPISCOPACY AND THE ROYAL SUPREMACY IN THE CHURCH OF ENG-

LAND IN THE XVI CENTURY. By E. T. Davies, Director of Religious Education in the Diocese of Monmouth. (New York, William Salloch; Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1950, pp. vi, 137, \$2.00.) A book on the English Reformation which does not include the "Elizabethan Settlement" is probably predestined to at least partial failure. Yet Mr. Parker, even within these limitations, has managed a readable account, both compact and sound. The main outlines of the story have been clearly traced, with special emphasis upon the political and economic factors involved. Two chapters are particularly noteworthy, that on Edward VI, entitled "Liturgical Change," with its reference to the Prayer Book as "an ingenious essay in ambiguity," and that on the Marian reaction. The author believes that Mary Tudor, "a logical woman in an illogical and confused situation," was more acceptable to her subjects for her ancestry and as a symbol of the end of gangster rule than for her religion. It is possible that Mr. Parker has had more success with the political than with the strictly religious phases of his subject. His reiterated statement that England is one of the few countries never to have settled the conflict between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation will not be acceptable to all readers. There is a useful bibliography, classified and selective, almost entirely without critical comment. The book maintains the excellent reputation of the series in which it appears. The second book here under review deals with an important subject and rests upon a very considerable familiarity with the relevant sources and recent secondary material. The author believes that the "Church of England is the heir to the whole catholic tradition as well as to the Protestant Reformation" and that "the continuity of the episcopate stands out as a historical fact in the history of the Church of England in the sixteenth century." His book "is concerned with what the church itself and its most illustrious writers believed and taught about episcopacy." Thus he relies chiefly upon official formularies and upon such writers as Hooker, Tyndale, Gardiner, Cranmer, and Jewell. The best of the three chapters is probably that devoted to "The Royal Supremacy and Its Effect upon Episcopacy." The author is convinced that the royal supremacy, despite inherent dangers, "saved the Church of England, not only from Rome on the one hand and Geneva on the other, but also from internal disruption . . . until Anglican principles began to emerge after about 1580." The book has neither index, bibliography, nor any proper concluding chapter or section.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD, *Smith College*

THE LIFE RECORDS OF JOHN MILTON. Volume II, 1639-1651. Edited by J. Milton French. [Rutgers Studies in English, No. 7.] (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1950, pp. vi, 395, \$5.00.) The second volume of Professor French's project of supplying a fundamental basis for biographers of John Milton as a "verifiable foundation" for opinions of his work is now presented in chronological form from September of 1639 to the early months of 1651. It has been the editor's hope "to load every possible rift with ore." This he has done, thereby ensuring very hearty expectation of the third and fourth volumes of his endeavor. His search has been indefatigable. Quotas have come from the British Museum, parish registers, Public Record Office, the Guildhall Library and Lord Delamere's unique collection. Groups of letters—Milton to Molière and to Voltaire—have been conscientiously studied before they were disavowed. Their inclusion, none the less, completes the record, which always has remained the aim. Much space is given to the marriage of the poet to Mary Powell. Its date and the circumstances attending it remain hazy even after fresh research. Great numbers of books are mentioned simply for completeness though not accepted by any responsible scholar. Thus it is that when one

comes upon certain youthful poems, transcribed with many mistakes and with an abundance of corrections, one feels a freshness and a lightening of the spirit. Such inclusions cause us to forgive not being presented with an "attributed self-portrait," the figure of a "stocky man with flowing hair crowned with laurel," which Professor French assures us bears no resemblance to any authenticated likeness. We cannot but regret, however, the omission of the miniature of Milton when young, once in the South Kensington Museum, "enamel on gold," by John Petitot. Also one regrets that the editor neglects to give more complete information as to his own possession: "a likeness of Milton at twenty-one from a copy of Hanbraken's engraving." Reference to the poet's shift from private study to public controversy with Salmasius occurs when Milton is ill in health and in danger of blindness, for "inveterate mists" have settled on his forehead and on his temples. They weigh him down with a kind of sleepy heaviness. Colors burst from them but are not propitious. Notices of his father's death and his son's birth, regrettably, are brief. The volume ends with the poet constant in his pursuit of sight and avid in his search for knowledge, "the grand Affair perpetually of his Life." DORA NEILL RAYMOND, *Arlington Village, Virginia*

THE GENESIS OF RUSSOPHOBIA IN GREAT BRITAIN: A STUDY OF THE INTERACTION OF POLICY AND OPINION. By *John Howes Gleason*. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume LVII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. ix, 314, \$5.00.) Subtitled "A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion," this monograph seeks to accomplish three objectives: (1) to present a survey of British-Russian relations between 1815 and 1841; (2) to make an analysis of Anglo-Russian commercial contacts; and (3) to offer a chapter in the intellectual history of nineteenth century Britain. All three objectives are ably achieved. The volume begins with a helpful chapter on the general subject of policy and opinion in international relations, and concludes with a concise summary chapter and a comprehensive bibliography and index. Although he traces the roots of Russophobia in Great Britain as far back as 1791, Gleason insists that its real bloom began only after the events of the Greek struggle for independence in the 1820's and the Polish Revolution and its concomitants in 1830. Especially after the latter event, the stereotype of Russian tyranny and malevolence took increasing hold on the British mind. Its growth was assisted by numerous pamphleteers, newspaper and magazine proprietors, and travelers turned literary men. Of these the most influential in stimulating British thought to Russophobia was David Urquhart. Fanning the growing dislike of Russian tyranny by stressing alleged Russian threats to the Near East, to Persia, Afghanistan, and India, Urquhart convinced many literate Britons that the Russian bear was a real menace to their empire. This cultivation of Russophobia, developed to a high point by 1841, when Gleason terminates his account, later helped to bring about the Crimean War. The book does not make any specific parallels to contemporary developments—despite the statements on the cover jacket—but by suggestion the lesson is there for a reader to ponder. Gleason mentions (p. 274) an English translation in 1843 of de Custine's *Russia in 1839*, a new version of which has appeared in the United States as these lines are being written. *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain* is a fine monograph, which should provide helpful background material for students of Anglo-Russian relations in the nineteenth century. It is possible that by implication and analogy it may be useful in clarifying some of the issues of our own day.

J. DUANE SQUIRES, *Colby Junior College*

BRITISH GOVERNMENT SINCE 1918. By Sir *Gilbert Campion, et al.* With an In-



roduction by the Rt. Hon. Sir *John Anderson*. (New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. 232, \$3.75.) This book is the work of six contributors, three academic and three from public life. As such, it does not contain a systematic history of government in Great Britain during the last thirty years; but some of the essays are useful and suggestive. D. N. Chester brings up to date Sir Ivor Jennings' classic account of the cabinet, tracing the changes in its membership and its committees since 1939. Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie examines the departments of the central government, comparing them with the structure outlined by the Haldane report on the machinery of government—a somewhat pointless exercise. Sir Arthur Street (of the National Coal Board) gives a rather perfunctory account of public bodies, including both the boards of the recently nationalized undertakings and some earlier bodies; his defense of the boards against criticism of their methods of administration has a partisan air about it, and when it touches on the celebrated schemes of raising groundnuts and poultry in Africa has been bluntly thrust aside by events. J. H. Warren's essay has the great value of making clear what a revolution has occurred in local government since 1939: the welfare services have been almost entirely nationalized, local powers over education are now closely circumscribed by the ministry (as is true also of roads, police, fire services), and municipal trading in electricity, gas, and transport has been ended or threatened with extinction. Loss of power has befallen chiefly the boroughs (but not the county boroughs) and urban and rural district councils; the counties, by comparison, have retained much power and even added to it. Some of these points are underlined in Professor W. A. Robson's essay on administrative law, 1919–1948. This, which is much longer than any of the other contributions, is a most careful and illuminating survey of its subject, embracing changes in central and local government, the civil service, administrative powers, delegated legislation, administrative justice, and judicial control of administration. Those whose knowledge of these subjects ends with the *Zadig* case and Lord Hewart's *New Despotism* will find much of interest and encouragement in it. C. L. Mowat, *University of Chicago*

THE HISTORY OF PARTITION (1912–1925). By *Denis Gwynn*, Research Professor of Modern Irish History, University College, Cork. (Dublin, Browne and Nolan, 1950, pp. 244, 12s. 6d.) The partition of Ireland, declared the late Professor Edmund Curtis in his well-known *History of Ireland* (London, 1936, p. 409), was “a momentous event which no Irish leader had ever contemplated.” The present study, by another eminent Irish historian, documents and buttresses this statement, and through an extensive analysis of the circumstances leading to partition serves a timely reminder that an arrangement which is now regarded in many quarters as a permanent one was in origin a “temporary” and unwelcome compromise. Sir Edward Carson and other Unionist leaders of Ulster wanted the total rejection of the Home Rule Bill of 1912, not its modification. All attempts in 1912–1914 to find a basis of compromise failed, but one of the by-products of the abortive Buckingham Palace Conference of July 21–24, 1914 (Professor Gwynn makes effective use of Redmond's personal memorandums on this conference), was a proposal, advanced by Sir Edward Carson himself, for the temporary exclusion of six counties in northern Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. The idea of a separate parliament in “Northern Ireland” was first broached in an official memorandum of the British government on December 22, 1919. This led to the Government of Ireland Bill of 1920. Further protracted negotiations resulted in the Anglo-Irish treaty of 1921, which set up the Irish Free State. Professor Gwynn proves again that no Irishman can be objective on the question of partition; but his study is far superior to most treatises on the



subject. John Redmond receives the kindest treatment, as would be expected from his biographer. Even Carson and Craig fare not too badly. If there is a villain in the piece, according to Professor Gwynn, he is Lloyd George, who advocated no less than eight different "solutions" between 1911 and 1921, and whose "record in relation to Ireland had been almost incredibly opportunist" (p. 197). Perhaps Professor Gwynn is justified in maintaining that the British government, in the Ireland Act of 1949, tried "to give permanent sanction to an artificial arrangement which was always intended to be temporary, while repudiating any responsibility for assisting a settlement by consent" (p. 10), but he is unduly harsh in describing this act as "a hurried piece of panic legislation" (p. 15). He is deliberately or unconsciously naïve in seeing "no apparent reason why the Ulster Unionists . . . should not be persuaded once more to accept some settlement of the Partition issue" (p. 21). Partition is no more logical today than it was in 1920, but, short of a major revolution in Stormont and in Westminster, there seems to be little likelihood that its end is in sight.

NORMAN D. PALMER, *University of Pennsylvania*

FAUSSAIRES ET FAUSSETÉS EN HISTOIRE CANADIENNE. By *Gustave Lanctot*. Preface by *Robert de Roquebrune*. (Montreal, Les Editions Variétés, 1948, pp. 224.) This little book makes pleasant reading, composed as it is of short essays about "Forgeries and Fibs" in Canadian history. Not a footnote mars the pages of beautiful print. The style is intimate and chatty. The author's range is broad and comprehensive, from the discussion of a now discredited story about La Roche's expedition of 1598 to the memoirs of a supposed patriot in the Rebellion of 1837. Between these two limits in time Mr. Lanctot exercises his skill as a lawyer, his historical training, and his archival experience to entertain his readers with stories both old and new. The old yarn about the "*filles de joie*" as founding mothers of Canada is retold and discredited. One of the most interesting chapters deals with the reputed last words of Canadian heroes like Frontenac, Maisonneuve, Wolfe, Montcalm, and Brock; and shows how many each man is supposed to have uttered and how frequently they were completely at variance with one another. Next comes the first forgery of Canadian history, which has to do with Brest, a great city of 50,000 souls, the capital of Labrador, founded long before Quebec in 1608, and refusing, as recently as a radio address of 1944, to die. One chapter goes to the "mendacious friar," Father Hennepin, and his attempt at the close of the seventeenth century to change the historical record that he himself had made and published some fifteen years earlier. Following this discussion of well-known facts, comes another chapter of similar tenor evaluating La Hontan. Nowhere does the author appear to be acquainted with the most recent scholarship in this field, which, incidentally, links the careers of these two men. Other chapters deal with one of the American "creations" of the great Le Sage, the curious fabrication of Le Beau in two big volumes telling of eighteenth century travels in North America, and the "Letters of the Marquis de Montcalm," which appeared in London in March, 1777, but nevertheless purported to make the great French general a prophet of the first order by foretelling in certain of his last letters the very course that events took between his death in 1759 and the outbreak of the American Revolution.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

CANADA: A SHORT HISTORY. By *Gerald S. Graham*, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. Formerly Professor of History, Queen's University, Canada. [Hutchinson's University Library, British Empire History, No. 52.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 187, trade \$2.00, text \$1.60.) A "short

history" of 177 small pages, which undertakes a survey of Canadian history from Cartier to Louis St. Laurent, necessarily must omit many details. For that reason, this little volume is hardly adequate as a text for beginners in the field. Furthermore, like other Canadian historians, the author devotes a disproportionate amount of space to colonial beginnings—50 per cent of his precious pages to the years before 1763, and well over half to the close of the American Revolution, leaving hardly seventy-five pages for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The importance of this volume derives from its interpretations, for it is not planned as a detailed history. Instead of stressing internal or even North American aspects of Canada's problems, the author approaches his task "from the outside," "to give as much weight to European as to Continental or indigenous influences." He emphasizes his favorite theme of the importance of sea power in shaping Canada's destiny, and the economic and trade factors that have affected her political progress from a colony to one of the "medium powers" of the present day, and an equal in the Commonwealth of Nations. Looking toward the future, Professor Graham accepts as inevitable the subordination of Canada's foreign policy to that of the United States. He believes, however, that the Dominion's most difficult problems lie in the domestic field, where forces of disintegration from within must be arrested and recent trends toward greater provincial rights and privileges reversed. He is hopeful that world forces will drive Canadians into a common acceptance of a national creed. His book is a masterly synthesis, full of shrewd observations, and written in a style that makes it a joy to read.

CARL WITKE, *Western Reserve University*

CANADIAN DIARIES AND AUTOBIOGRAPHIES. Compiled by *William Matthews*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 130, \$2.50.) Historians familiar with Professor Matthews' two previous bibliographies, *American Diaries* (1945) and *British Diaries* (1950), will welcome the appearance of his *Canadian Diaries and Autobiographies*, which is offered as "a non-selective guide to personal records [both published and unpublished] relating to Canadian life." The arrangement is alphabetical by author's name, supplemented by a "serviceable" subject-and-place index, with each entry furnishing "brief biographical data on the writer, the time span, brief notes on contents . . . and a bibliographical record." Chronologically, Professor Matthews has limited his bibliography to the period from the beginning of the French and Indian War to the present; geographically, to the area of present-day Canada (including Newfoundland); and in contents to "Canadian" diaries, autobiographies, memoirs, reminiscences, journals, and autobiographical travel accounts. Accordingly, "French material prior to the French and Indian Wars, materials relating to the old North-West and the Pacific North-West . . . the diaries and travel books of Americans visiting in Canada" and of Europeans whose travels in Canada were only incidental to their visit to the United States, "the diaries of fur-traders who worked in what is now American territory, the journals of world explorers like Cook and Arctic explorers whose travels were only incidentally in Canada," and "general travel books" were excluded from the present listing. (However, in all fairness it should be noted that most of these excluded categories, for the period prior to 1861, are included in the compiler's *American Diaries*.) All in all, Professor Matthews' quest in the major libraries and depositories of Canada, England, and the United States has resulted in a bibliography which he rightfully claims will, despite its shortcomings, provide the Canadian historian with "good transportation." Nevertheless, to this reviewer the excessively narrow limits of the present compilation seriously impair the usefulness of what is otherwise an excellent guide. MURRAY G. LAWSON, *Syracuse University*

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## FRANCE

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BIBLIOGRAPHIE GÉNÉRALE DES TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES ET ARCHÉOLOGIQUES PUBLIÉS PAR LES SOCIÉTÉS SAVANTES DE LA FRANCE . . . PÉRIODE 1910-1940. Prepared under the auspices of the Ministère de l'Éducation nationale by René Gandilhon, Archivist of the Marne. Volume II. (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1950, pp. vii, 577.) The first volume of this bibliography, which appeared in 1944 and included publications of societies in the departments of Ain to Creuse, escaped notice owing to wartime conditions. The present volume covers societies in the departments of Dordogne to Lozère. A third volume, devoted to the departments Maine-et-Loire to Savoie (Haute) is scheduled for 1951. Two more volumes and a general index of persons and places are planned to complete the work for 1901-1940. Robert de Lasteyrie du Saillant began the *Bibliographie générale* with four volumes covering a period from the beginning through 1885 (Paris, 1888-1904). Volumes V and VI, for the period 1886-1900, appeared between 1911 and 1918. Three volumes composed of annual supplements for the period 1901-1910 were issued from 1906 to 1914. If circumstances permit, an index is also to be prepared for the six volumes from the beginning through 1900.

JAMES B. CHILDS, *Library of Congress*

FRANCE AND THE SAAR, 1680-1948. By Laing Gray Cowan. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 561.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1950, pp. 247, \$3.50.) This well-planned and in the main well-executed monograph, though entitled *France and the Saar, 1680-1948*, covers the history of the Saar from the fifth century to the present day. The author has wisely divided the space at his command

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.



almost equally between the time prior to 1918 and the period since that date. For the earlier portion the author has drawn his data in large measure from the numerous French and German controversial studies dealing with the conflicting claims of France and Germany to the regions long in dispute between them. Such studies quite commonly contain numerous and lengthy quotations from original sources. By judicious use of that kind of material the author has lightened his own labor and has provided his readers with a generally well-balanced account, despite a number of errors, chiefly for the period of the French Revolution. The second part tells in considerable detail how the Saar articles of the Treaty of Versailles were formulated and how the international regime which they brought into existence operated down to the return of the Saar to Germany in 1935. Here, in the opinion of the reviewer, lies the chief shortcoming of the book. Interested primarily in the history of the people who have lived in the Saar, the author has failed to bring out adequately the significance of the Saar experiment in international control over a much disputed area. That experiment, the reviewer thinks, was a remarkable success. As an example of what can be done by an international agency in handling a thorny problem it ought to be made better known. The final chapter, dealing with the manner in which almost complete French control over the economic life of the Saar has been brought about since 1945, is one of the best features of the book.

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B. H. Wabeke

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## NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes<sup>1</sup>

COUNT FOLKE BERNADOTTE: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By *Ralph Hewins*, British Correspondent in Scandinavia. (Minneapolis, T. S. Denison, 1950, pp. 279, \$3.00.) Folke Bernadotte here comes to life as the leader and personification of Swedish wartime and postwar humanitarianism. The approach is deeply sympathetic, yet the judgments are fair. Hewins portrays Bernadotte as "an ordinary man who made good," who grew steadily in self-confidence, vision, and usefulness. This nephew of the king began to discover himself only after his marriage with Estelle Manville and as leader of the Boy Scouts. He developed his talents as director of the Swedish section of the New York World's Fair, and he stepped onto the greater stage when war brought to his neutral country a special sense of moral responsibility and a special opportunity. His first great work was the exchange of prisoners in 1943, which led two years later to his "opening the gates of hell on earth" for some 40,000 prisoners suffering the horrors of the Nazi concentration camps. Through Schellenberg and Himmler he became a "pivot of the peace," and helped to save Denmark and Norway from becoming last-ditch battlegrounds. It was this noble spirit, leader by then of the Red Cross and mediator of the United Nations in Palestine, himself the savior of some 10,000 Jewish lives, who was cut down by the Stern Gang terrorists in Jerusalem on September 17, 1948. The style of the book is vigorous and the story

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

is fascinating. The sincere emotion of the author may be excused, but not his inaccuracies. The items in central focus are for the most part dependable, but background material is often mishandled. The book is replete with petty errors of spelling and inadequate proofreading, with mistakes in dates and names (e.g., Hitler for Himmler, p. 132). The author is a British journalist who, oddly for such a man, has learned neither to polish his writing nor to verify his sources. It is peculiar that this United States-published work retains the anglicisms of "labour," "spiv," etc. Illustrations are numerous, but the bibliography is insignificant, and there is no index. It is a worth-while and an interesting book, but it is pathetic that it did not receive that extra attention which would have made it a truly good book. The services of a first-class editor could have doubled its value.

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## GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner<sup>1</sup>

BISMARCK AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE. By *Erich Eyck*. (London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1950, pp. x, 327, \$3.75.) This book is based on a series of lectures delivered in the Hall of Balliol College at the invitation of the history faculty of Oxford University. It is a skillful summary of the author's three-volume *Bismarck: Leben und Werk*, which was published in Switzerland during the war (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX [1944], 713-14, LI [1946], 501-502). What was said of the larger work is substantially true of the condensed version. It is based on wide reading of the Bismarck studies of the past decades and of many of the published documents. The point of view is that of a German liberal, an admirer of Bismarck's courage and skill and of the *kleindeutsch* solution of the problem of German unity. The author's comments are usually sensible and frequently penetrating. Bismarck's faults, his sensitiveness to criticism, his tendency to see in it motives of person rather than of principle, the increasing influence of personal motives on his own policies, stand out more sharply in the present book than in the fuller and more balanced original.

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## ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*<sup>1</sup>

IL RISORGIMENTO IN SICILIA. By *Rosario Romeo*. [Istituto italiano per gli studi storici in Napoli.] (Bari, Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1950, pp. 406.) On February 16, 1947, the Istituto italiano per gli studi storici was opened in Naples with an inspiring address, "Il concetto moderno della storia," by Senator Croce, the chief founder and president. The preamble to the constitution of the institute criticizes the narrow training of the historian if there is neglect of the relationship of "history with philosophy, logic, ethics, law, politics, and religion, which define and demonstrate those ideals and values that the historian must understand and use in writing." There are other statements in the constitution which reflect the convictions and standards of Senator Croce regarding historiography. Under such guidance Dr. Romeo has completed his book. His was no easy task inasmuch as the Risorgimento in Sicily was not marked by exalted cultural values and did not develop with splendor and grandeur. Prior to 1780 the intellectuals in Sicily were isolated, lacked fervor for reform, and made no attempt to struggle against the feudal system. Caracciolo was, consequently, almost alone in his attack on feudalism during his regency from 1781 to 1786. Only after 1785 were there antifeudal notes among the intellectuals and some relation with European thought. In contrast the eighteenth century philosophers elsewhere had a great deal more influence. When feudalism was gone, the rising middle class was inclined to affiliate with the nobility. That meant a less liberal attitude than in the middle class of northern Italy. Instead of developing a new progressive program the Sicilian middle class showed timidity and immaturity. The years prior to 1848 were, moreover, dominated by the desire to be free from Neapolitan rule. After 1848 provincialism was broken and replaced with the idea of unification or nationalism.

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

In spite of the fact that the Risorgimento in Sicily was "little history," a dwarf alongside the well-known Risorgimento, Dr. Romeo demonstrates the combination of diligence and zeal needed in narrating and objectively interpreting thoughts and actions. He mentions problems left unsolved in 1860 without elaborating upon them, because they fall outside the scope of his study. He refers to the postwar attempt to establish autonomy but characterizes its insuccess as demonstrating the union of the best of Sicilian thought with Italian. Appendixes of fifty-one pages amplify the long chapter about social and economic conditions. Many passages, such as the biographical sketch of Caracciolo in seven lines and a half, and the evaluation of Francesco Ferrara's economic studies, are most effective. There are frequent short summaries and conclusions within each chapter. The relation of the chapters is generally shown by the last sentences of each preceding chapter. Then there is a final conclusion which is brilliantly written.

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## RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

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RUSSIA AND WESTERN MAN. By *Walter Schubart*. Translated by *Amethé von Zeppelin*. (New York, Frederick Ungar, 1950, pp. x, 300, \$3.75.) Only a wide interest in Russia—and in the apocalyptic—in recent times accounts for the translation into nine languages of this philosophico-historical treatise which originally appeared in German in 1938. The author, a professor of philosophy and sociology in Riga before the war, a Protestant Baltic German by origin, became a convert to the Russian Orthodox Church and married a Russian. Every page of this book, full of contempt of the West and admiration for Russia, points to his infatuation with the nineteenth century Slavophile literature, out of which came both his conversion and this book. For Professor Schubart the Russian and the western European (excepting the Spaniard) are poles apart. During the Renaissance and the Reformation the latter deserted the ideal of spiritual and "harmonious" man of the "Gothic Age" and has lived since in the "Promethean Age," characterized by "irreligion and the desire for material achievement." The Prussian, "cold, sober and devoid of imagination, . . . calculating and only interested in politics, business and war . . . together with the Anglo-Saxon, now became the representative of [this] era." "In contrast to Promethean man, the Russian [the messianic type] is possessed of Christian virtues as permanent elements in his national heritage. It is indeed no exaggeration to speak of the innate Christianity of the Russian—and even of the Slav—soul. The Russians were Christians before they believed in Christianity." The West was imperialistic and rapacious. Russia, on the other hand, "did not crave to enrich herself by conquest—she only desired to redeem the Western world." Promethean (Western) civilization, Schubart gleefully proclaims, is on the brink of its inevitable—and welcome—downfall. The Russian, emerging "purified" out of Bolshevism—merely a passing, "westernizing" phase in his history—will usher in the "Millennial Age—the era of John the Evangelist." "The great event which is being prepared in the womb of Time is the rise of the Slavs—in particular the Russians—to become the power that will determine the culture of the future. . . . The Millennium will be the era of the Slavs."

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## STALIN AND THE POLES: AN INDICTMENT OF THE SOVIET LEADERS.

By *Bronislaw Kusnierz*, Minister of Justice in the Government of General Bor-Komorowski. With a Foreword by His Excellency August Zaleski. (London, Hollis and Carter, 1949, pp. xx, 317, 16s.) This is an official indictment of the Soviet government by the Polish government in exile. It has been presented on behalf of that

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

government by Dr. Bronislaw Kusnierz, minister of justice from 1944 to 1949, with a preface by August Zaleski, the successor of the wartime president of Poland, the late Wladyslaw Raczekiewicz. The indictment is patterned on that drawn by the Four Powers against the Nazi leaders at the conclusion of the Second World War. It falls under two main heads: "Crimes against Peace" and "War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity." In the first category are listed diplomatic and military actions of the Soviet leaders resulting in the seizure of eastern Poland and the imposition of a puppet government on the remaining part of Poland, which proceeded—under the Kremlin direction—to communize the unwilling, unfortunate people. The second category of charges is much the more formidable. Overwhelmingly strong evidence is offered to show that the Soviet leaders did not shrink from any crime, however abhorrent, to attain their sinister designs. The description of terrible treatment inflicted on human beings (for the most part not charged with any crime, even in the Soviet code) by the Soviet regime presents a gruesome picture. One instance of this is provided by mass deportation of the population of eastern Poland to Asiatic Russia in the period 1939–1941 under the most inhuman conditions of transportation; another by the mass execution of Polish prisoners of war in the Katyn Forest. The story of that dreadful crime is here fully unfolded. The steps taken by the Russians to destroy the Polish underground movement which culminated in the arrest of the underground leaders by enticing them to a conference is traced in some detail.

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#### CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION: A STUDY OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS.

By *Aitchen K. Wu*, Formerly Chinese Consul-General at Vladivostok; Professor of International Relations at Yenching University and West China Union University. (New York, John Day, 1950, pp. xvi, 434, \$6.00.) The title of this volume is misleading as at least one third of the text deals with pre-Soviet Russo-Chinese relations. It is an undertaking ambitious in scope and is not without the virtues and faults of such a work. Thus in tracing Russian eastward expansion to 1917 the author commits many serious errors. To base a good portion of chapter iv (Russian expansion to the Amur) on such long-superseded works as Ravenstein's *Russia on the Amur* (1861) is not good historical scholarship in 1950. In dealing with the early history of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the author uses the essentially important work of B. A. Romanov, *Rossiya v Manchzhurii* (1928), but in general the conclusions of this scholarly work are ignored and greater reliance placed on the now discredited Witte *Memoirs*. Apparently the author is not proficient in Russian, for even Witte's *Memoirs* are used in the one-volume English and not in the three-volume Russian edition. Valuable documentary material in Russian to be found in several issues of *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, and the second series of the *Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya v epokhu imperializma* is not used at all. By contrast, the two chapters dealing with Sinkiang are of the greatest value, being based largely on excellent Chinese sources. The author's presence there in diplomatic capacity during the turbulent period of the early 1930's lends increased value and authenticity to his version. Of considerable interest, though less reliable, are his references to personal interviews with Chinese statesmen after 1939. Except in the Sinkiang chapters, Chinese sources are used only occasionally. There is an excellent appendix of some seventy-five pages of key documents on Sino-Soviet relations covering the period 1924–1950. If only for this, the Sinkiang chapters, and the occasional presentation of Chinese views based on Chinese sources, the work is of value. But many chapters have to be read cautiously.

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## Near Eastern History

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THE ARABS IN HISTORY. By *Bernard Lewis*, Professor of the History of the Near and Middle East, University of London. [Hutchinson's University Library, No. 40.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1950, pp. 196, text \$1.60, trade \$2.00.) This useful little work is well worth the attention of serious students of the Near East. It incorporates the results of much recent research, it is well written (the introduction on "What Is an Arab?" is superbly done), it pays more than perfunctory attention to economic and social factors, and here and there contains brilliant insights. Nevertheless, it is somewhat disappointing, not because of its content or manner of presentation but because the author has not fulfilled his own purpose. Professor Lewis states in the preface that he set out to write not a history of the Arabs but an essay in interpretation of that history. Unfortunately, while there are occasional passages of summary and synthesis, the book is essentially a straightforward presentation of dates and events plus commentary. Even for background the amount of political and military data seems excessive. It is somewhat surprising to note that none of the ideas of Toynbee's *Study of History*—many of whose most brilliant chapters deal with the Islamic Near East—is referred to, if only by way of refutation, nor is the book itself included in the outline bibliography. The author, who is professor of Near Eastern history in the University of London, followed the traditional historians of the Arabs in devoting practically all his attention to the rise and climax of their civilization and disposing of the equally instructive reasons for their decline and incipient renewal in two chapters that are too general to be readily grasped or useful. In a small book like this that covers such a vast period of history it is obvious that much has to be omitted. Nevertheless, it would seem that some place should have been found for a description of one of the most dominant influences on the Arabs, i.e., the religion of Islam—its main tenets, distinguishing features, psychology, etc. We would also like to think that in a book on the Arabs published in 1950 there should have been more than a one-sentence reference to what is surely the most exciting and significant event in the lives of most Arabs (and many other peoples) today—the explosive emergence of the state of Israel in 1948. Communism, neither as a word nor a potentiality, is mentioned even once. Even a careful study of *The Arabs in History* is not likely to

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles unless otherwise indicated.



furnish the average reader with sufficient clues as to the role the Arabs are likely to play in Near Eastern history. We are all vitally interested to learn whether this role in a world either at peace or at war will be an active or passive one. An analysis of the past and present as a basis of prognosis for the future is something which the layman cannot do for himself. At the present time when the humanities are in a struggle for their very existence—largely because for so long there has been a virtually studied disregard for the “practical” interests of the people—it is a pity that Professor Lewis, who is sincerely interested in the modern East, failed to break away from the conventional pattern to write the book on the Arabs that he is so well qualified to write by virtue of his extensive knowledge, travels in the area, and objectivity.

S. G.

CONVERSION AND THE POLL TAX IN EARLY ISLAM. By *Daniel C. Dennett, Jr.* [Harvard Historical Monographs, No. XXII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 136, \$2.50.) The year in which the American Oriental Society held its annual meetings in Boston as the guest of Harvard University was the year Mr. Dennett, who had been studying at Harvard under Professor William Thomson, introduced to fellow Orientalists the substance of the thesis which he develops in this book. In a fifteen-minute paper he outlined certain conclusions to which he had been led by his studies of the Omayyad period of Islamic history and suggested that some radical changes were necessary in our interpretation of the problem of taxation in the early Islamic Empire. This little book sets forth his position in more detail. It has been long in appearing, for Mr. Dennett was killed in a plane crash while on official duty for his country, and the book is now issued with a preliminary statement, and a brief account of his life, by his teacher, Professor Thomson. The great problem in this area arises from the fact that the Arab outburst in the years immediately succeeding the death of Mohammed brought them suddenly and quite unexpectedly into the position of being masters over great territories in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the lands beyond. The rulers were Arabs from the deserts and the few small towns of a relatively backward country, with little or no experience of the governmental machinery necessary for ruling these lands of more advanced civilization. It was thus inevitable that they should take over the systems of their predecessors, whether Byzantine or Sassanian. But it was equally inevitable that those systems would have to be modified at various points to accord with basic teachings of the new religion or to serve the dominant interests of the new masters. Naturally one fundamental problem was that of taxation. Mohammed had been forced to establish certain rules which would ensure financial support for the theocratic state he had set up at Medina. The situation in a widely expanding empire was very different, but as these rules of the Prophet had been set forth in oracular form as of divine authority they were considered to be of permanent and universal validity, and had to be applied to the whole Islamic Empire, even if fictions had to be devised to make them applicable. The older studies of this problem had tended to assume that a uniform system had been applied to the whole expanding empire, but this assumption introduced considerable confusion into the interpretation of the early accounts we have of the taxation. Mr. Dennett's fresh examination makes it clear that in the early period the taxation system developed differently in each of the great areas, the Sawad, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Khorasan. Though neither his criticisms of the work of Wellhausen, Caetani, Becker, and others, nor his own interpretations of the data, are always as cogent as he thinks, his re-examination of the material is extremely suggestive and makes it clear that a great deal of spadework will have to be done before we have a

clear picture of how the older governmental procedures were progressively adapted to function smoothly within the Islamic framework. It is a pity that a map and a glossary could not have been included for the sake of the many students who will be interested in such a study but who do not have any special knowledge of early Islam.

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MEMOIRS OF KING ABDULLAH OF TRANSJORDAN. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. 278, \$3.75.) Judged by scholarly standards this rendition of King Abdullah's *Mudhakkarāt* into English is not satisfactory. The editor, Philip P. Graves of *The Times*, besides supplying numerous footnotes and interpolating explanatory passages in the text (p. 24), attached to the chapters long notes—some four or five pages—which at times are not easy to distinguish from the text itself. The translator, G. Khuri of Haifa, took other liberties. He deleted "some passages which are of no interest to the general reader" and gave a few chapters "in summary" (p. 27). Not satisfied with that, either he or the editor transposed entire paragraphs, changed several chapters and gave them new titles, making it very difficult for the reviewer to check on the original Arabic (1st ed., Jerusalem, 1945). Even official documents were not treated with proper consideration. The transliteration of proper names follows no recognized system. The year of the Hegira, A.D. 622, is wrongly given (p. 33, n. 1). The disease which afflicted the Ottoman prime minister whom Abdullah visited when in Constantinople was chicken pox (Arabic text, p. 74) not smallpox (p. 99), and the name of the sheikh of the 'Unayzah tribe was Farhan not Farham (p. 168). The author himself would find it rather difficult to recognize his memoirs in their English garb. This is especially regrettable in view of the importance of the material, some of which is fully presented for the first time and by a man whose knowledge was firsthand and who took a leading role in the events described. The record of his early life in Mecca and the sojourn in Constantinople with his father Husayn, who was a political exile from 1891 to 1908, may not be of great significance. But the account of the part he played as leader of his father's army in al-Hijaz at the time of the Arabian revolution against the Turks in the course of the First World War, as his father's foreign minister in Mecca, and later as the founder of the emirate of Transjordan, now the Hashimite Kingdom of the Jordan, is told with elaborate and new details. The references to the McMahon correspondence, to which justice has been done in George Antonius' *Arab Awakening*, are brief and cursory. Equally inadequate is the account of the decline of the Hashimite power in Arabia, resulting in the establishment of the Saudi kingdom. The description of the Wahhabis as *wuhūsh* (wild beasts, Ar. text, p. 140) was omitted from the expurgated translation (p. 171). Lawrence was a "self-conceited brag" "whose intrigues went so far as an attempt to influence me against my own father" (p. 170). But strangely enough, Sultan Abd-al-Hamid "was not really a despot but an excessively cautious man. After he had gone it was revealed that he had had no one killed, nor inflicted any capital punishment save once; the rest of his state prisoners were left in prison until their death" (p. 58).

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FOUNDATIONS OF TURKISH NATIONALISM: THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF ZIYA GÖKALP. By *Uriel Heyd*. (London, Luzac; Harvill Press, 1950, pp. 174, 12s. 6d.) The Turks were almost the last of Ottoman races to respond to the message embodied in nationalism. This occurred only at the end of World War I. The Turkey of today owes its beginning to the spread of nationalism among certain Turkish leaders, the most prominent of whom was Kemal Atatürk. Ziya Gökalp, who has

been proclaimed as the "spiritual father of Turkish nationalism," is the subject of this compact and careful study. In the first part (pp. 19-40) the author gives a brief account of Gökalg's life, from his birth in 1875 (or 1876) to his death in 1924. He had all his schooling in his native city, Diyarbekir. At the age of twenty he went to Constantinople; there he wrote many poems and some plays. He also learned French and read Leon Cahun's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie* (published in 1896); this work made him a Pan-Turkist. In 1908 he was active in the Young Turk party, became its executive secretary, and his ideas were avidly absorbed by his colleagues. Until 1918 Gökalg's Pan-Turkism was the goal of Turkish leaders. After Turkey's defeat in 1918 all seemed lost, but in 1922 fortune began to smile, and Gökalg began where he had left off. In 1923 he was elected to the Turkish national assembly in which he served only one year. In tracing Gökalg's ideas which influenced Turkish leaders the author rightly thinks that most of these were borrowed from Durkheim; Gökalg's share was the addition of a variety of extreme nationalism. In his later years he preferred "pure" Turkism. He and Atatürk hoped to build the new state on the foundations of "Turkism and Westernism," Turkish in spirit and content but Western in form and appearance. The useful bibliography includes work of, as well as on, Gökalg.

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## Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard<sup>1</sup>

THE MALAYS: A CULTURAL HISTORY. By Richard Winstedt. (New York, Philosophical Library, 1950, pp. vii, 198, \$3.75.) All students of Malayan life and customs will welcome this volume by Sir Richard Winstedt, an author well known for his studies of the Malay language, of magic, and of the history of Malaya. Brief discussion of the archaeology of Southeast Asia is followed by certain preliminary assumptions by the author. Most important of these are his conclusions that people of the Australo-Melanesian racial grouping once occupied the area and that traces can still be found in the physical characteristics of some of the jungle folk. He also assumes the close relationship between the Melanesian conception of *mana*—a great undifferentiated force which may become resident in man or object—and the Malays' belief in *semangat* or soul substance. The custom of head-hunting, so widely spread

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the list of articles.

in Malaysia and the Pacific area, is traced to a similar common origin. The reviewer agrees with conclusions concerning a probable occupation of coastal Southeast Asia by a Melanesoid population, but he fails to find substantiation of this in any of the living groups. He likewise doubts relationship between the undifferentiated force called *mana* and the highly individualized Malayan idea (*semangat*) of soul or spirit. The various racial groupings in the Malay Peninsula—Negrito, Senoi (or Sakai), Proto-Malay, and Malay—are discussed, but chief attention is given to the Malays. They are traced back far into central Asia, whence they are credited with receiving such fundamental ideas as shamanism and magic. Having disposed of these more dubious subjects, the author gives a brief reconstruction of primitive Malay life and custom and then shows the influence of Indian, Islamic, and European overlordship. Through the centuries the Malay has shown great ability to adopt, to change, and to add without serious break in tradition. Excellent chapters on social and political systems, law, and economic life give evidence of wide knowledge of these fields. One section deals with the accomplishments brought about by the British protectorate. This has brought peace and security, has opened up the country, and has raised the standard of living. It has resulted also in the entry of great numbers of Chinese and Indian laborers who look with alarm at the growth of Malay nationalism with its protest against the invasion of outsiders. Historians, anthropologists, and students of economics and political science will find much of value in this little volume.

FAY-COOPER COLE, *University of Chicago*

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## United States History

Wood Gray<sup>1</sup>

### GENERAL

- JESUIT AND SAVAGE IN NEW FRANCE. By J. H. Kennedy. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, L.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. 206, \$3.75.) This is an interesting attempt to throw some light on a complicated and controversial

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.



subject. In the first six chapters, Mr. Kennedy has presented a summary history of the missions in New France, from the landing of Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé at Port Royal, on May 22, 1611, to the fateful date of 1763 which marked the end of the French regime in Canada. The author has done more than retell a well-known story; in the chapter on "Official Means and Ends of the Missions," particularly, he has keenly analyzed the views of the Jesuits on France's "*mission civilisatrice*," their commercial and secular interests as well as their spiritual endeavors. None of the topics included in the preliminary chapters has received full treatment and no full treatment was to be expected; but this judicious and nonpartisan appraisal of the multitudinous activities of the missionaries in New France is in itself a praiseworthy achievement. The following chapters deal more specifically with the missionaries' opinions of Indian life and the impact of the relations between "Jesuit and savage" on French thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It ends with a quotation from Voltaire's *Ingénu*, in which the author sees a "complete" characterization of the savage in France, an idea which may strike some students of the subject as a brilliant but very questionable simplification. In the missionaries' view of the American Indians there are so many contradictory traits that it is impossible to find any real unity in their dealings with them. Of this fact the author himself is well aware, as may be seen in the chapters on Indian life and in the long quotation from Charlevoix given on page 174. That the *philosophes* found grist for their mill in the relations and discovered in them arguments of which the good Fathers had never dreamed has often been pointed out. Mr. Kennedy has made clear that the missionaries often saw weaknesses and vices in the liberty, tolerance, and equality of primitive society which were so highly praised by the philosophers. This is an important distinction well worth bearing in mind in further studies on the "good savages." On some minor points one may find it difficult to agree with the author. He has not always sufficiently distinguished between "hard primitivism" and "soft primitivism," particularly when dealing with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose "good savage" resembles more the Caraïb of Du Tertre than the stoic Indian of the missionaries in New France. One might also wish he had treated more extensively the long quarrel on the virtues of the heathens which started in the seventeenth century and went on through the eighteenth. On the whole, however, the historian of ideas owes the author a debt of gratitude for the comprehensive presentation of a subject which deserves fuller treatment than it has hitherto received.

GILBERT CHINARD, *Newberry Library*

DIPLOMACY AND INDIAN GIFTS: ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY ALONG THE OHIO AND NORTHWEST FRONTIERS, 1748-1763. By Wilbur R. Jacobs. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1950, pp. 208, \$5.00.) Here is a fascinating story of Anglo-French rivalry along the American frontier in that historic decade which saw the final expulsion of French power from Canada. All important in this struggle were the Iroquois, Algonquian, Muskogean, and the Indians to the South, whose warriors figured significantly in the military strategy and maneuvers of the combatants. To win Indian favor, the European powers adapted their diplomacy to the Indian custom of giving presents, like "elaborate shirts, coats, hats trimmed with lace and ribbons," jewelry, guns, toys, and wampum, and increasingly involved themselves in the complex traditions, mystic connotations, and tribal necessities of these frontier nations. Giving presents thus became a skilled art which was shrewdly practiced by only a few diplomats. Besides adding to our knowledge of forest diplomacy, Professor Jacobs contributes much information about British colonial administration. New light is thrown upon such problems as taxation, the flow of

trade, the selection of officials, and intercolonial relations. For example, the author writes that the Virginia house of burgesses was forced to levy two shillings per hogshhead on exported tobacco to defray the expenditures for the Indian presents, while the Georgia legislature had to solicit aid from England to meet expenses. In addition, Professor Jacobs raises many questions about the influence of Indian traders and interpreters like Andrew Montour and George Croghan, and about the work of Sir William Johnson. Undoubtedly this speculation may induce other investigators to fill in the details of British administration in the frontier areas. Professor Jacobs' manuscript was first presented as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Los Angeles, and is herewith published in substantially the same form. It is scholarly, well authenticated, and limited in scope. It draws heavily upon original manuscripts from ten depositories in this country and abroad as well as forty-six printed collections. Both the author and the Stanford University Press should be congratulated on the choice of illustrations and on the format of the book, which is a most creditable example of the bookmaker's art.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ, *California Institute of Technology*

AN INQUIRY INTO THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. By *John Taylor*, of Caroline County, Virginia. Introduction by *Roy Franklin Nichols*. [Rare Masterpieces of Science and Philosophy.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950, pp. 562, \$7.50.) John Taylor's *An Inquiry into the Principles and Policy of the Government of the United States* has long been unavailable except as a rare book in the edition published in 1814. In this reprint the whole work is republished with a good but brief introduction by Professor Roy Franklin Nichols, who ably presents much pertinent data concerning Taylor's career and other writings. *An Inquiry* is the most comprehensive of Taylor's numerous and prolix writings on political topics; but it is not well organized nor is it easy reading. Possibly because of this characteristic, which also is true of his other works, the interpretation of Taylor's exact position in American politics remains controversial. Yet, there has been a renewed interest in him during the last twenty-five years. In large part this is because of his sharp recognition of the realities of history and politics; of the interconnection between history and the social and economic forces of his time. This book provides many examples of this point of view to challenge the modern reader. On the other hand, it gives too much credit to Taylor to call him, as enthusiasts have, "the philosopher of Jeffersonian democracy." In this respect Jefferson stands by himself. Nor can Taylor properly be viewed, in my opinion, as a real precursor of Jacksonian democracy. To examine his central theories briefly, as presented in this book, he was a sharp critic of Hamiltonian commercial and financial legislation. He held this view as a representative of the extreme doctrinaire agrarian position, dictated by the interests of the planter group. He was skeptical of natural right, regarding it as the "least successful guardian of liberty" (p. 369). Hence he prescribes a division of governmental powers among the people, the federal government, and the states. But so many powers are retained by the people it is difficult to see how government could function effectively. No laws might be enacted concerning free speech, free press, religion, free elections (so much is traditional); but Taylor also adds, concerning property. This would mean no power to establish banks, tariffs, nor any power to control property as advocated by William Godwin, a contemporary advocate of land distribution. Poverty he believes can and should be borne (p. 487) if it is a result of property rights in land; but poverty resulting from "artificial" causes, as follows from banks and tariffs, is not to be condoned. Parties are a poor assurance

that these rights will remain with the people (p. 561). The proper check is that set forth by the Kentucky resolution of 1798, which Taylor interprets as the right of a single state or of the federal government mutually to annul each other's legislation. Essentially this is the position, though once held by Jefferson, of the Quids. To this group Taylor had given his support by 1814. Essentially he is preparing the way for Calhoun. But be this as it may, Taylor raises many of the questions that are still with us. His treatment of them during his own period provides a realistic appraisal of the forces at work. The Yale Press has rendered a service in reprinting this book.

MANNING J. DAUER, *University of Florida*

THE VIOLENT MEN: A STUDY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS. By *Cornelia Meigs*. (New York, Macmillan, 1949, pp. 278, \$4.00.) "The Violent Men" of Miss Meigs's book are not usually regarded as men of violence, for she is dealing with the members of the first and second Continental Congresses who are best remembered for their state papers and who were reluctantly pushed into war with Great Britain. But if Miss Meigs's definition of violence be accepted, most of the members of the Continental Congress were certainly violent men: "to stand as a small minority against the natural timidity, against the distrust of change, against the clinging to security which dominated the minds of the majority; to feel the new pressure of liberty and freedom as it was in an age of conservatism; to be forward-looking in a time of confusion and hopeful in the face of every temptation to despair"—these are the characteristics of the "Violent Men" of the Revolutionary period. This, of course, is not the legal definition of violence; it blurs the distinction between those who advocated peaceful change and those who put their faith in force. Although Miss Meigs is blameless in the matter, there is in our own day a dangerous tendency in some quarters to identify progressives with revolutionists, violence with the "pressure of liberty and freedom." The book bears the subtitle "A Study of Human Relations in the First American Congress." Although such subsidiary matters as the English "Friends of America" are treated, the interaction of personalities is Miss Meigs's principal theme: the struggle between the Adamses and Joseph Galloway, between John Adams and Thomas Paine, and between John Dickinson and his conscience. Sound and workmanlike, the book cannot be regarded as one of the truly important studies of the Revolutionary period. It does not, for example, succeed in conveying the tension and high drama of the struggle in Congress; the "Violent Men" become somehow mild and tame. Throughout the book, Miss Meigs underscores her conviction that the work of Congress was vastly more important than the military events of the War of Independence. "When," she writes, "the crack of the first long rifle [it was a musket, not a rifle] opened the engagement of Lexington and Concord, echoing and re-echoing as rifle shots do, it was said to be heard round the world. But it may be that the Liberty Bell, ringing that July day in the belfry above, was heard in heaven." It is self-evident, however, that without the victories of Saratoga and Yorktown, while the Liberty Bell might have been heard in heaven, it would not have resounded in this lower sphere.

JOHN C. MILLER, *Stanford University*

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR. By *Henry J. Browne*. Foreword by John P. Monaghan. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1949, pp. xix, 415, \$4.50.) This book adds simultaneously to the history of organized labor and to the history of the Catholic Church in the United States and Canada. Other writers have described the nineteenth century antipathy

of Catholicism toward unions. Others have also discussed the twentieth century sympathy of Catholicism toward unions. Father Browne has supplied a detailed report upon important phases of the transition from antipathy to sympathy. He has concentrated particularly upon the period 1879 (when Terence V. Powderly became "Grand Master Workman" of the Knights of Labor) to 1891 (when Pope Leo XIII issued *Rerum Novarum*). He has assembled his facts not only from a variety of published records but also from such unpublished material as Powderly's personal papers and the archives of widely scattered dioceses in the United States and Canada. In part this book is a well-told story of Powderly's patient efforts to win the Catholic hierarchy over to his cause. It tells how he led the Knights away from some of its secret ritualism which had been largely responsible for Catholic condemnation of oath-bound labor unions, how he toiled to keep the Knights from the stigma that confusion concerning the Molly Maguire outrages had brought upon the labor movement, and how he negotiated with the priesthood at every opportunity. It is also a story of conflict within the Catholic Church. It tells how high-ranking clergymen differed vigorously on various social and economic problems and how the Knights of Labor became a burning issue which was resolved only after action by the Vatican. In some respects it is regrettable that Father Browne has confined his work to the relationship of the Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. Students of the labor movement—and perhaps church historians also—could use a thorough analysis of the attitude of the church toward all unions including some which preceded and survived the Knights of Labor. Because its scope is limited, this work will not rank among great history books which are widely consulted. The author has set high standards for research and objective reporting in connection with his particular topic, however, and his pioneering in the field should make it easier for some scholar some day to write a comprehensive history of the relationship between organized labor and organized religion.

FRANK M. KLEILER, *Washington, D.C.*

AMERICAN EXPRESS: A CENTURY OF SERVICE. By *Alden Hatch*. (Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1950, pp. 287, \$3.50.) Within the last decade many famous American firms have commissioned popular, romantic histories. Perhaps the serious historian should be glad that business companies seem to recognize that history plays a part in public relations, but he must question whether such oversimplified success stories really benefit either the company or the public. They are of negligible business value to the former, and they do not prepare the latter for an intelligent evaluation of the needs of free enterprise. Even among such volumes Mr. Hatch's *American Express* is on the lighter side. It is buoyed by colorful anecdotes, and unencumbered by costs, earnings, or other statistical ballast.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

AMERICA'S COLONIAL EXPERIMENT: HOW THE UNITED STATES GAINED, GOVERNED, AND IN PART GAVE AWAY A COLONIAL EMPIRE. By *Julius W. Pratt*, Professor of American History, University of Buffalo. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1950, pp. xi, 460, \$6.00.) Ellen Wilkinson once remarked how "our good friends in the United States and the Soviet Union speak at times as if [an] association of peoples, if called an empire, is a grievous sin, but if called a union, is a sacred, inviolable entity" (*New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1944, p. 7:1). At other times, when not concerned with Ireland or India, Americans have deplored their own imperial connections as much as any people have done, and yet without thoroughly examining their imperial system as a whole, or even applying a name to it. Now

Professor Pratt describes the system, the colonies and protectorates, and the bases of American interest in dominion overseas. He does not attempt to reach as far as his publisher claims he does, "from the time of the Louisiana Purchase to our occupation of Japan and Korea" (he discusses neither Louisiana, nor Japan, nor Korea), but he presents more than a "synthesis of facts more or less familiar" (p. v), which is his own claim. *America's Colonial Experiment* is brief (383 pages of text, in well-leaded twelve-point type), and it reaches over more ground than its author's studies of the expansionists of 1812 and 1898. Much of it is a simple statement of useful information—the main facts of diplomacy, economic geography, and government; yet much of it recalls the keen analysis of the earlier books. Fifty pages of footnotes reflect careful use of published sources. The book will be a convenient reference, perhaps a text, in several fields. The most routine parts are the descriptions of colonial government, which tend to be summaries of organic acts; historians probably will be interested chiefly in Pratt's judicious statement of motive and tendency in American policy. His main picture is one of liberal government and beneficial economic relationships, but he also describes selfishness and laxness where he finds them. His survey should help other investigators to go farther, as into the operation of colonial government as well as its structure, the growth of political parties, the relationships of imperialism and isolationism, and the experience of the continental territories, which (while quite properly excluded from this book) had much in common with Hawaii and Alaska.

EARL S. POMEROY, *University of Oregon*

AMERICA'S CROP HERITAGE: THE HISTORY OF FOREIGN PLANT INTRODUCTION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. By *Nelson Klose*, Associate Professor of Social Sciences, Central State College. (Ames, Iowa State College Press, 1950, pp. x, 156, \$3.50.) The significance of cultural transference in the history of mankind is receiving increased recognition, and the conscious interchange of useful plants and animals between the various regions of the world is no small part of this history. These facts give this book unusual importance. In addition, the significance of the role played by plant introduction in the development of American agriculture makes it doubly welcome. It is regrettable, however, that the text of this attractive book is limited to 139 pages. Within this space the author has managed to sketch the history of federal action in the importation of plants of economic significance, but the struggle between brevity and comprehensiveness has resulted in many paragraphs that assume the character of catalogue listings. Furthermore, the ramifications of the subject have of necessity been slighted to the extent that those not familiar with the nexus of actions involved may get a myopic view. Some, but not sufficient, attention is given to the adaptation and ultimate utilization of the plants introduced. Yet the work of the crop expert, the plant breeder, and the phytopathologist on plants of foreign origin has often been more important than that of the plant explorer. Except for the initial chapter on the colonial period and the chapter on the pertinent contributions of the early agricultural societies and a few individuals like Franklin, Washington, and Jefferson, little recognition is given to state and private activities in this field. It should be emphasized, however, that since the federal government has made the most significant contributions in plant introduction work, the author is amply justified in making it the central theme of his book. The book is professedly intended primarily for the general reader, but the hope is also expressed that it will be useful in agricultural and economic history courses. With reference to this aspiration, it must be pointed out that, despite its academic origin, the work has statements that contradict each other, phrases that should have been more carefully worded, and a



fair number of factual errors. For example, the early history of alfalfa in the United States could hardly be "confused with that of lucerne" since the two plants are identical (p. 6); the cotton gin was not invented in 1795 (p. 9); Henry L. Ellsworth, not his father, the Chief Justice, served as head of the Patent Office (p. 38); the Concord grape was not named for its discoverer (p. 75); Jeremiah M. Rusk was not commissioner of agriculture (p. 83); the Bureau of Plant Industry was not "devoted exclusively to plant introduction" when it was first organized (p. 120); and cinchona, as the author states elsewhere, was not discovered in Peru in 1852 (p. 137). Possibly the present reviewer exaggerates these deficiencies, but most of them were not present in the academic version from which the book is derived, and in addition the assistance, criticisms, and suggestions of a number of persons who know about phases of the subject are acknowledged in the preface. Perhaps it is a case of "*Eile mit Weile*" somewhere along the production line. EVERETT E. EDWARDS, *Washington, D.C.*

HUGO L. BLACK: A STUDY IN THE JUDICIAL PROCESS. By *Charlotte Williams*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1950, pp. vii, 208, \$3.50.) The author quotes Dean Havighurst of Northwestern University Law School as writing, after Justice Black's first year on the Supreme Court: "In the vernacular of the day, the Justice *has* something. And what he has is of great significance for the future of constitutional law and the nation." Starting with something about his background in Alabama and the disadvantageous circumstances under which he became a member of the court, Miss Williams' book is a setting forth of what it is that Justice Black has—this largely from his opinions on constitutional and other questions. The reader is left largely to his own appraisal of the effect of Justice Black's views, but it is very clear that the author agrees enthusiastically with these views and the philosophy underlying them which has been woven into the opinions written by the justice in the more than thirteen years he has been a member of the court. The book obviously is not written for lawyers, which fact of course may commend it to many readers. Indeed it may be doubted whether certain of the author's observations would be agreed to by most lawyers. Many lawyers, for example, would be likely to interpret Justice Black's scholarly dissent in *Galloway v. United States* (319 U.S. 372) with reference to court-directed verdicts somewhat less extremely than the author does at pages 116 to 119. Also the inference that one might well draw from the text (p. 75) that the court in *Federal Power Commission v. Hope Natural Gas Company* (320 U.S. 591) wholly established the theses of Justice Black's dissent in *McCart v. Indianapolis Water Company* (302 U.S. 419) is debatable in view of what has happened since the decision in the Hope case (Nemmers, "The Hope Case," *Illinois Law Review*, XLV, 460). But the book is a workmanlike effort throughout, and what it says is worth reading and thinking about. HARVEY HOSHOUR, *University of New Mexico*

HERBERT HOOVER'S LATIN-AMERICAN POLICY. By *Alexander DeConde*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1951, pp. xiii, 154, \$3.00.) This monograph, when in manuscript form, was co-winner of the 1949 American history award of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. It is a useful addition to the growing literature on the Latin-American policy of the United States. After some background material (not enough, incidentally, on Hoover's Latin-American views as Secretary of Commerce), DeConde covers Hoover's good-will trip as President-elect; his efforts to settle Latin-American disputes (Tacna-Arica, Chaco, Leticia); the modification of the Monroe Doctrine during the Hoover administration, with a partial retreat from policies of imperialism

and intervention; Hoover's concern over Latin America's economic difficulties; and the arms-and-recognition problems resulting from depression-instigated revolutions. The interpretation is sympathetic throughout, mainly descriptive but sometimes analytical as well. Most subjects are treated in sufficient detail. A few are slighted—for example, the question of the relative importance in policy-making of Hoover and his subordinates, notably Secretary of State Stimson. A word on sources will indicate the strength and weakness of this study. Professor DeConde has had access to the Hoover archives. He has surveyed the secondary works available in English and the documents published by the State Department. He has made careful use of the *New York Times* and has gone through five other United States newspapers, plus many magazines. He has also delved into Latin-American materials, covering a number of Latin-American books and articles and sampling Latin-American government documents and newspapers (eight in five countries). Although the Latin-American coverage could have been much improved, DeConde has done better in this particular than many writers. He could have done more, too, with interviews and correspondence with the policy-makers of 1929-33. The major defect, however, is in the manuscript field. DeConde used only two dozen items from the Hoover archives, nearly all of them falling in the years 1929-31. Surely the great Hoover collection must contain more than that. But even if it does not, the author could still have consulted some of the many vitally important unpublished manuscripts in Washington, in the National Archives and the State Department. The great bulk of this material is open to scholars. DeConde's failure to use it sets definite limits on the value of his book. Documentation is good, there being several footnotes per page. The bibliography is extensive (sixteen pages) and useful. The index is satisfactory, and the book is well-printed, attractively bound, and (for these days) reasonably priced.

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON, *University of Wisconsin*

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. Volume XI, JANUARY 1-DECEMBER 31, 1949. Edited by *Raymond Dennett* and *Robert K. Turner*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press for World Peace Foundation, 1950, pp. xxiv, 728, \$6.00.) In their volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations* for 1949 the editors have, as they remark, "achieved their goal of placing before the public within a year of the period to which they pertain the documents of major significance in the field of United States foreign relations." The main divisions of this volume are the same as those in the volume for 1948. The longest are "Europe, Africa, and Western Asia" (119 pages), "Occupation Policy" (86 pages), and "Economic Reconstruction and Development" (84 pages). Among important documents printed in full are the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany, the North Atlantic Treaty of April 4, 1949, the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of October 6, 1949, and President Truman's Inaugural Address of January 20, 1949, containing his Point Four proposal of the "bold new program" for the improvement of underdeveloped areas. About thirty-five pages are given to excerpts from the report of the Hoover Commission and from the report of its task force on foreign affairs. The text of the Act to Strengthen and Improve the Organization and Administration of the Department of State is printed, and the changes made under authority of that act are described. The State Department announces the withdrawal of the last occupation troops from the Republic of Korea and the turning over of military supplies to the Korean government. Secretary Acheson transmits to the President the long "Report on United States Relations with China" in a letter warning that if the Communist regime should engage in aggression against its neighbors, the United States and other members of the United Nations "would be



confronted by a situation violative of the principles of the United Nations Charter and threatening international peace and security." There are useful lists and tables of such data as changes in United States establishments abroad, international organizations and international conferences, amounts of aid granted to foreign governments, and the like. Table of contents, index, introductory notes, and footnotes conform to usages in previous volumes. These annual compilations have become indispensable to students of recent American foreign relations.

JULIUS PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

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## SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

CONFEDERATE LEADERS IN THE NEW SOUTH. By William B. Hesseltine. [Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950, pp. xi, 147, \$2.50.) These essays form an interesting study of the 585 civil and military "leaders" in official positions of the Confederate States of America who survived the war long enough to leave a record of their activities, attitudes, and reactions to postwar events and problems of the South. From the author's analysis and synthesis two main points emerge, one of which is not sufficiently emphasized as to its implications, while the other is oversimplified in his interpretation. The first point is that these ex-Confederates, suffering relatively little restraint in view of the heated passion of the 1860's, reasserted their leadership despite the Reconstruction program imposed by vindictive Northerners, and, as popular heroes, they soon regained control to rebuild their homeland in collaboration with other Southerners. In other words, there was a continuity between the ante-bellum and post-bellum South which "conquered provinces" seldom experience. This significant fact deserves more attention in the author's discussion of the New South. The second point, which Mr. Hesseltine stresses throughout the book, is that the Confederate leaders, reflecting the varied nature of their background, occupations, and interests before the war, differed in their conception of what the future offered in terms of principles. In order to set forth the two alternatives facing them, he uses the familiar symbolism of Lee, the realist, anticipating a New South in contrast to Davis, the reactionary, living in the past of the Lost Cause. The author then reviews the careers of numerous religious and educational leaders most of whom had been military officers during the war. The churchmen are characterized for the most part by a narrow orthodoxy and the intense, nostalgic pro-Southernism voiced by Davis; many of the educators, like Lee, advocated "practical" training in the realm of higher learning. But the reader will not find these facts related to the religious orthodoxy and educational concepts of the Old South or to the impact of the war upon them. Was the classical education of ante-bellum days only skin-deep to be so quickly discarded? Were these leaders detached from the political issues of the New South? The title of the third chapter is "Politics and Business: The Leadership of Compromise." The author provides a revealing cross section of politicians of all brands, most of whom remained in the Democratic party to restore white supremacy when Reconstruction collapsed. About the thirty-four ex-Confederates who became industrialists, however, we are not given enough information to perceive clearly what considerations really entered into their attitudes and decisions. Manufacturing was not new to the South of 1860; the war had given it great impetus and suggested greater opportunities in times of peace. The commerce of the Old South had long been controlled by northern firms. To what extent did

these new industrialists have to reconcile their course with the past? It seems far-fetched to regard them as looking "in desperation" for aid from northern capital which began to infiltrate after the war, or to assert that, as a sequel to Radical Reconstruction, a "Compromise of 1877" was effected between southern politicians and northern masters of capital for the economic exploitation of the New South. If such a conscious premeditated alliance was arranged, we shall need much additional research to substantiate it. Mr. Hesseltine's provocative and readable little book reminds us that the New South continues to be a challenging field for historical study.

LESTER J. CAPPON, *Institute of Early American History and Culture*

THE KNOW-NOTHING PARTY IN THE SOUTH. By *W. Darrell Overdyke*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950, pp. vi, 322, \$4.00.) This is the story of the rise and decline of a minor political party. The Know-Nothing party never won a national campaign; nevertheless, there were times when it represented the sentiments of a large portion of our population. It was made up of divergent personalities with ephemeral ideas of the program to follow. The second quarter of the nineteenth century was a restless period in world history, and the United States experienced its share. The factory system was rising, transportation facilities were expanding, and new inventions were changing the pattern of life. This transformation grew more acute in the decade 1850-1860. The influx of immigrants increased the economic, political, and religious tension. The Cotton Kingdom was expanding at a furious pace to supply the world demand for cotton. The slave system made it possible for the leisure class to practice politics. The masters of slaves dominated national politics, but this domination was threatened by the rising masters of industrial capital and by the numerous nonslaveowning whites of the South. The different economic interests and the social stratification in the South prevented political unity. The submerged feelings sought relief in political action. Professor Overdyke seems to emphasize nativism as the backbone of the Know-Nothing party. Throughout the fourteen chapters of his study, however, he recognizes the economic and religious forces. He has been diligent in his research and has brought to light the record of numerous politicians of the period many of whom have been previously neglected. Some readers may find the meticulous array of names taxing, but most readers will appreciate the skill with which Professor Overdyke presents the individual characters. The party's strength and the leaders in each southern state are recorded. Expediency and personal interests are noted but this reviewer feels that more emphasis should have been placed on the economic and social transformation as the basis for the political movement. The Know-Nothing party was basically a protest against existing conditions and the failure of the Democratic and Whig parties to come to grips with them. A growing society cannot readily diagnose its pains and prescribe the remedy. Professor Overdyke has rendered a service in giving us a synthesized story of the Know-Nothing party in the South. The Louisiana State University Press has maintained its standard of book-making, and only a very few errors, such as "Howard-Tilden Memorial Library" (p. 128) for Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, escaped the proofreader.

GARNIE W. MCGINTY, *Louisiana Polytechnic Institute*

CALENDAR OF MARYLAND STATE PAPERS. No. 4, THE RED BOOKS, Part 1. By *Gust Skordas*, *Roger Thomas*, and *Beryl Gardner*. [Publications of the Hall of Records Commission, No. 7.] (Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission, 1950, pp. x, 280, \$2.00.) This first of three parts planned to cover the largest and most important of the "Rainbow Series" maintains the high standards of quality set in Maryland



calendars already published. The Red Books are thirty-three volumes of official manuscripts of the period 1773-1827, rich in military affairs, somewhat less so in civil and diplomatic matters. They were gathered together in the middle nineteenth century and later bound in such a manner that a finding aid of this sort is essential to convenient reference. Their value warrants a calendar detailed to a degree appropriate to rare gems. Historians outside Maryland as well as within recognize the importance of these documents, especially as they represent nationally prominent leaders and events of the Revolutionary period. The style of calendaring used has been described in Morris L. Radoff's "Practical Guide to Calendaring," *American Archivist*, XI (April-July, 1949), 123-40, 203-22.

PHILIP C. BROOKS, *The National Archives*

CRACKER PARTIES. By *Horace Montgomery*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1950, pp. viii, 278, \$4.00.) Mr. Montgomery has traced the labyrinthine course of Georgia politics, as well as the mutual reactions of national and state politics, through the decade of the fifties, culminating in the secession of the Empire State of the South. The way in which the Democratic party became converted "from Jacksonian dogma to the credo of John C. Calhoun" is the essence of his study (p. vii). His account begins with the reshaping of political parties following the Compromise of 1850, in which Howell Cobb, Alexander H. Stephens, and Robert Toombs played leading Unionist roles. For a brief time (1850-52) the national parties in Georgia became "unhinged"; but as the decade unfolded, Howell Cobb tortuously emerged as the dominant figure in the Democratic party. Cobb has been "deliberately emphasized" because the author believes that none of his "Georgia contemporaries possess his peculiar diagnostic significance" (p. vii). The tiresome and frequent campaigns are described if not always explained, as are the development of the Know-Nothing movement (including unsuccessful efforts to build southern unity around "Sam"), and the ascendancy of the "balance of power" Democrats. Toombs and Stephens reluctantly "unwhiggled" themselves, and indeed a sizable portion of former Whigs contributed to maintain a Democratic majority during these years. Mr. Montgomery criticizes the moral erosion of state and national political parties; and of all the eminent Georgians discussed it is Herschel V. Johnson who evolves into a statesman of wisdom and maturity—significantly a Douglas man in 1860. This study developed from Mr. Montgomery's doctoral dissertation prepared under the direction of Professor Coulter at the University of Georgia. It is well written (though sometimes repetitious) and fills a gap in knowledge. The study is based upon manuscripts, newspapers, printed sources, as well as secondary materials. There is a heavy emphasis upon the partisan journalism of the fifties which reminds one of that encountered by Mr. Pickwick at Eatonswill. These sources are valuable but must be used with caution. Unfortunately the author sometimes becomes involved in a maze of second-hand and even third-hand quotations; and he has limited himself to several unbroken files of Georgia newspapers for his main thread. Indeed the focus is too exclusively on Georgia; events outside are seen through the myopic eyes of partisan state editors; and the Georgia story might be better integrated into the sectional and national picture. More serious is the failure to examine pertinent and available manuscript collections (the Alexander H. Stephens papers at the Library of Congress are rich for ante-bellum Georgia). The underlying motives of politicians are not always apparent in the columns of newspapers. OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Washington and Lee University*

HERE THEY ONCE STOOD: THE TRAGIC END OF THE APALACHEE MIS-  
SIONS. By *Mark F. Boyd*, *Hale G. Smith*, and *John W. Griffin*. (Gainesville, Univer-

sity of Florida Press, 1951, pp. xvii, 189, plates, \$3.75.) This joint historical-archaeological study of some of the problems of the Spanish mission era in the Apalachee region of Florida was made under the auspices of the Florida Park Service. The authors "feel that this joint effort has illuminated the picture of the times to a degree that would have been impossible if only one of the disciplines had been employed." For almost two centuries Spanish Franciscans maintained, in the face of innumerable difficulties, mission posts among Indians north and south of and west from St. Augustine. Most important of these outposts in northwest Florida was the San Luis Mission two miles west of the present city of Tallahassee; key to Spain's precarious hold on the Apalachee region, it was founded between 1633 and 1655. Documents translated by Mark F. Boyd tracing the history of San Luis from 1693 to its abandonment in 1704 and, therefore, describing the tragic end of the mission era, constitute the major portion of this volume. One section is devoted to excavations at the site of San Luis by John W. Griffin; another section consists of a treatment of a Spanish mission site in the present Jefferson County by Hale G. Smith. In the appendix a discussion of "Leon-Jefferson Ceramic Types" by Smith is followed by "Trait List of Two Spanish Sites" by Griffin and Smith. This publication of the University of Florida is artistically designed and handsomely illustrated. End papers provide a map, during the years 1701-1714, of the Spanish mission region in what is now the southeastern part of the United States; another map shows the missions of Apalachee and Timucua, besides which there are four text figures and twelve plates.

ALFRED J. HANNA, *Rollins College*

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#### WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF INDIANA TERRITORY, 1805-1815. Edited by *Gayle Thornbrough* and *Dorothy Riker*. With an Introduction by *John D. Barnhart*. [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XXXII.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Bureau, 1950, pp. ix, 1106, \$6.00.) The work under review—a significant contribution to the history of the territorial era of Indiana—further illustrates the early liberalizing of the ordinance of 1787 already evidenced by the several recent documentary publications of the Indiana Historical Bureau and other agencies. Notable among those published under the auspices of the former are the two volumes comprising the laws of Indiana Territory, which scholars who use the present volume must necessarily consult. As the textual version of the legislative journals here presented unfolds, the reader will find substantial corroborative evidence of the democratization process. An excellent summary of the documents in Dr. Barnhart's introduction contains the following pertinent observation: "Surely the democratization of the Ordinance deserves a place along side the enactment and the institution of government according to its provisions." The volume contains the journals of the territorial assembly under the second stage of government, excepting those of the preliminary session, which commenced December 5, 1804, the first session of the second assembly (1807), and the first session of the third assembly (1810); the missing records in question are probably irretrievably lost. If no other historical sources were available for the era covered by the journals it would be possible, on the basis of the materials contained in the latter, to reconstruct a goodly portion of the history of the period. What, specifically, do the journals disclose? Among the many facets portrayed are the processes of legislation in a frontier legislature; the rise of party and factional politics; the character of laws enacted and of those which failed of passage; and the apportionment of representation (which required the intervention of Congress). Other typical subjects of legislation concerned taxation, divorce, food inspection, canals, roads and ferries, dueling, slavery, the organization of courts and their functions (there are six columns of index entries on this subject), militia, and sundry other items. Pressure from the assembly induced the passage by Congress of a law extending the suffrage to all taxpayers, which was followed by an act of the assembly providing for a poll tax, which still further enlarged the electorate. The high qualifications for the exercise of the suffrage and for officeholders, embedded in the ordinance, were thus greatly modified. The end pages contain the territorial treasurer's account book, biographical sketches of assembly members, and an elaborate index of eighty-seven pages.

CLARENCE E. CARTER, *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

A PIONEER IN NORTHWEST AMERICA, 1841-1858: THE MEMOIRS OF GUSTAF UNONIUS. Volume I. Translated from the Swedish by *Jonas Oscar Backlund*. Edited by *Nils William Olsson*. With an Introduction by *George M. Stephenson*. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press for Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1950, pp. xii, 419, \$6.00.) So zealous have historians been in unearthing nineteenth century source materials that a fresh record of significance does not often turn up any more. To be sure, Unonius' memoirs have been in print for nearly a century, but their translation from the Swedish and their publication, with annotations, gives them in effect the status of a new discovery for the English-speaking world. In 1841 Unonius, a well-born Swede, left his home in Uppsala with his bride

and three companions. From New York the party followed the well-traveled route westward by river, canal, and Great Lakes. On impulse they disembarked at Milwaukee, and not far inland, on the shore of Pine Lake, they raised their primitive log cabins. Near the Swedish settlement a little group of Protestant Episcopal missionaries—of whom James Lloyd Breck is best remembered—were laying the basis for Nashotah Seminary, and ere long Unonius was attracted to the order and ordained in the church, becoming the founder of the Swedish Episcopal Church in the United States. Eventually he returned to Sweden and died there. These memoirs are far more than a mere narrative of experiences in America. Social historians will want to read the volume for evidences of democratic action in Turner's frontier Wisconsin. Students of immigration will find in the pages a wealth of detail on adjustment to life in the New World. Theologians will be interested in the writer's discussion on doctrine (the subject will be treated more extensively in the next volume). Folklorists will delight in the character portrayals, the lively anecdotes, and the tales of Indian life. Swedish people everywhere will derive entertainment and enlightenment from this early account of their countrymen's penetration into the upper lakes region. Those of them who through purse and pen made possible the publication of this volume may well feel proud of the first production of their newly founded society.

ALICE E. SMITH, *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

**FRONTIER MOTHER: THE LETTERS OF GRO SVENDSEN.** Translated and Edited by *Pauline Farseth* and *Theodore C. Blegen*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, Volume V.] (Northfield, Minn., the Association, 1950, pp. xix, 153, \$2.50.) In the spring of 1862 Gro Svendsen, a young bride, sailed over the Atlantic and journeyed across America to settle on the northern Iowa frontier. Her letters to her family in Norway from that time until her death in the late seventies were luckily preserved and have now joined that growing collection of "grass roots history" publications for which the Norwegian-American Historical Association, under Theodore C. Blegen's editorial direction, is becoming known. Gro Svendsen emerges from these letters as a remarkably sensitive, intelligent person with a natural gift of expression. Writing of one of her small sons, she calls him "chubby and firm as a freshly kneaded batch of dough," and watching the burial of an infant at sea, she observes that "the waves hurried to cover the little coffin." This busy woman, who bore ten children in her frontier farm home, yet found time to write occasionally for a Norwegian-American newspaper, to teach school when she was needed, to act as secretary for neighbors who could not write, and to take a deep interest in the education of her own children. The dearth of books, characteristic of the frontier, she found a major hardship; "by all means bring some books," she advises those who are preparing to emigrate. American books she found poorly printed. "So it is with everything: shoddy and careless workmanship everywhere. . . . Everything Norwegian is of better quality than what can be bought here." Yet she is not unappreciative of the opportunity America gave to her and her kin. On the whole, here is another document from the frontier, adding no new trait to the picture, but further enriching it; and worth while in itself for its human warmth and vigor.

LEOLA NELSON BERGMANN, *Iowa City, Iowa*

**RUXTON OF THE ROCKIES.** Edited by *Leroy R. Hafen*. Collected by *Clyde and Mae Reed Porter*. [American Exploration and Travel, No. 13.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, pp. xxii, 325, \$5.00.) This, the thirteenth volume in the University of Oklahoma Press's "American Exploration and Travel" series, sheds con-



siderable light on the life and peregrinations of the author of *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (1847) and *Life in the Far West* (1849). Chapters six through sixteen (pp. 105-306) are taken entirely from Ruxton's *Adventures*, while the remaining seven chapters (113 pages) present, in the main, new material gathered by Mr. and Mrs. Porter from the young Englishman's notes and papers. Students of western Americana are familiar with Ruxton's explorations in Mexico and the Rockies. Not so well known are his adventures in Spain, Canada, and Africa. In his late teens, and after a short and unhappy experience at Sandhurst military academy, Ruxton crossed the Pyrenees in 1837 to join Queen Isabella's army in its struggle against the Carlists. Ruxton seems, however, to have been more impressed with Spanish poverty and climate than with Iberian politics. Back in England in 1839 he joined the Irish Fusiliers, and in the following year he was transferred to Ireland. His next tour of duty, in 1841-43, was in Upper Canada, where in the summer of the latter year he resigned from the army to indulge his passion for hunting and exploring. A year later he returned to England, but his restless nature carried him off to Africa on two expeditions in 1844-45. The greater part of the succeeding two years found him on his famous journey from Mexico City to the Central Rockies. Once again, in 1847, he returned to his English home, where he wrote about his American experiences; but the attractions of the Rockies were stronger than the comforts of a literary career in England. He soon recrossed the Atlantic to continue his explorations, a project which was unfortunately cut short by his death at St. Louis in the summer of 1848. Mr. Hafen and the Porters are to be commended for the general excellence of this book. Certainly it is an important addition to the "American Exploration and Travel" series. Editorial emphasis is, quite naturally, on those parts of the narrative dealing with the Rocky Mountains, but the reader sometimes wishes that a trifle more editorial attention had been given to the Spanish, Canadian, African, and Mexican interludes. Sketches from Ruxton's notebooks, together with the reproduction of ten of Alfred Jacob Miller's paintings, lend atmosphere to the book. Yet one wonders if at least one map might not have been more pertinent than so many of Miller's paintings. The absence of maps, however, by no means detracts from the merits of the book, which should be on the shelf of every student of the history of the West.

RUSSELL C. EWING, *University of Arizona*

**LIFE IN THE FAR WEST.** By *George Frederick Ruxton*. Edited by *Leroy R. Hafen*. With a Foreword by Mae Reed Porter. [American Exploration and Travel, No. 14.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp. xviii, 252, \$3.75.) In 1848 *Life in the Far West* appeared serially in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. A year later it was published in book form and became a best seller. Nor has its popularity diminished with time: it now appears in the eleventh edition. Students of western Americana will recall that *Life in the Far West* is fiction based on fact, the exciting adventures of two mountain men who go by the names of Killbuck and La Bonté. These of course are fictitious names, though Ruxton claims that they were well-known mountain men. Hafen concludes that La Bonté was probably Lewis B. Myers and that Killbuck may have been John S. Smith. His arguments are persuasive but not compelling. Hafen again demonstrates consummate ability as an editor. The text, "with only minor typographical changes" (pp. xvii-xviii), is a faithful rendering of the original in *Blackwood's Magazine*. Chapter headings are those which appeared in the first book edition, and Ruxton's footnotes are preserved. But more important than Ruxton's annotations are those of the editor. They not only enlighten the text but also contain much pertinent bibliographical material. And, as in the companion volume, *Ruxton of the Rockies* (see above), the book is well illustrated with the works of



the frontier artist Alfred Jacob Miller. Finally, there are two appendixes, one a reprint from *Blackwood's Magazine* on the life of Ruxton, the other a short account by Hafen on the identity of La Bonté and Killbuck.

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Latin-American History

James S. Cunningham<sup>1</sup>

GENERAL

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS: AN INTERPRETATION OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS. By *Lewis Hanke*, Director, Hispanic Foundation, the Library of Congress, Washington. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1951, pp. 102, 5 guilders.) In this excellent interpretive synthesis the author brings together the results of many years of research on Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, which started with his *The First Social Experiments in America*, published in 1935, and the Spanish text published the same year entitled *Las teorías políticas de Bartolomé de Las Casas*. As late as 1949 his *Bartolomé de Las Casas, pensador político, historiador, antropólogo* was published in Havana by the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. This recent volume, printed in English in the Netherlands, brings together the materials contained in the James Richard lectures which the author delivered at the University of Virginia in the fall of 1948. The work starts with an analysis of Las Casas' part in the Spanish conquest with stress on the encomienda system and the opposition of Las Casas to slavery in the era of his rise to the post of bishop of Chiapas. It stresses the passage of the New Laws which revoked the right of the colonists to hold the Indians in servitude. There follows a fine discussion of his work as a historian and political theorist stressing his "History of the Indies." The work continues with an analysis of Las Casas as an anthropologist and a discussion of his argument with Sepulveda on the Aristotelian view versus the Christian view with respect to the conquered Indian groups. The final and conclusive chapter labels Las Casas as "a sort of pre-Marxian who preached the class struggle." The volume winds up with an analysis of the character of the Spanish *conquistadores* and the justice and virtues of the emerging New World empire with stress on the justice accorded the Indians owing to the pressure exerted by Las Casas. The author cites the source materials properly in all chapters and provides a fine bibliography of the various works he has used. An index provides excellent guidance to the reader, and the volume is greatly enhanced by the use of fine contemporary illustrations starting with a picture of Las Casas as the frontispiece. Scholars

<sup>1</sup> Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

in the field, general readers, and students will find this work most useful in the study of the sweep and nature of the Spanish conquest in America, and the character of the colonial society which developed in the area from the West Indies to the continents from New Spain to the south of Chile.

ARTHUR S. AITON, *University of Michigan*

CON LA PLUMA Y EL MACHETE. By *Ramón Roa*. In three volumes. Compiled, with Introduction and Notes, by *Raul Roa*. (Havana, Academia de la Historia de Cuba, 1950, pp. xxxi, 366, 323, 310.) The sizable task of collecting, organizing, and editing the varied works of Ramón Roa, Cuban poet, essayist, and patriot of the nineteenth century, has been the mission of his grandson, Raul Roa. Both he and the Academia de la Historia de Cuba are to be commended for bringing forth in published form the voluminous writings of one of Cuba's clear-thinking zealots for independence. Included in the volumes are sketches of the unsuccessful Ten Years' War, 1868-1878, during which Roa employed pen and machete with equal vigor, producing essays, poetry, newspaper reports, and letters. Roa spent several years in the United States along with other Cuban exiles, and contributed to their propaganda organ, *La Voz de América*. Several of the sections are of interest to historians of the United States. The one entitled "The United States and the Cuban War" contains fair and unimpassioned comments upon the role of the United States. Roa protests against the popular opinion that the United States deserves blame for the war's prolongation, and reminds his countrymen that the Maximilian episode in Mexico was a vastly different matter. He defends the actions of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, and General Wood with regard to Cuba, saying that if General Wood had been an enemy of Cuban independence he would have concealed her shortcomings and aided her in securing it prematurely. In "Balance y Resueltas" he discusses the Joint Resolution and the Platt Amendment, urging Cubans to remain calm. Upon the annexation of Cuba by the United States, about which Cubans were apprehensive, he points out that the Platt Amendment expressly guarantees Cuban independence. His section on President McKinley is in a similar vein and concludes with the words: "Can there remain any doubt that MacKinley [*sic*] complied faithfully with the Treaty of Paris and that the inauguration of the Cuban Republic on May 20 is his work which fell to Roosevelt to carry to its completion?" In days of emotional turbulence engendered by the war for independence Roa shunned the hysterical outbursts of superpatriots. He remained tranquil and objective even where "national honor" seemed to be involved. What he thought on the many issues of his day is worth the reflection not only of his countrymen but historians of the United States as well.

DONALD E. WORCESTER, *University of Florida*

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# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## American Historical Association

The editors of the *Review* would like to call to the attention of prospective contributors "The MLA Style Sheet" printed in the April, 1951, issue of *PMLA*. Compiled by William R. Parker, secretary of the Modern Language Association, with the co-operation of the editors of seventy-eight learned journals (including the *American Historical Review*) and thirty-three university presses, this is a concise and useful tool for both author and editor. Those who wish to own a copy of the style sheet may order reprints from the Treasurer, Modern Language Association, 100 Washington Square East, New York 3, N.Y. The price of a single reprint is 10 cents; 25, \$2.00; 50, \$3.50; and 100, \$5.00.

The editorial staff disclaims any responsibility for the belated appearance of the April issue of the *Review*. All copy and corrected galley and page proofs were delivered on time. As to possible reasons for delay, deponent saith not.

## Other Historical Activities

The papers of Major General Frank Ross McCoy have been presented to the Library of Congress by General McCoy. They cover his long and distinguished career from the time he served in the Philippines shortly after the turn of the century until his retirement late in 1949. An extensive body of personal and general correspondence, supplemented by organized series of memorandums, reports, and speeches, by early notebooks, and by an unusually valuable series of scrapbooks that were kept through the years by General McCoy's assistants, document his service as aide-de-camp to Leonard Wood, Theodore Roosevelt, and William Howard Taft; his various activities on the Mexican border in 1915-16 and with the A.E.F. in Europe in World War I; and his work as supervisor of the presidential election in Nicaragua in 1928, as chairman of the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation (Bolivia-Paraguay) in 1929, and as American member of the Lytton and Far Eastern Commissions. The papers furnish a wealth of material not only to biographers but also to historians concerned with military history of the twentieth century and with those problems of international scope in the solution of which General McCoy played a telling part.

Additional papers of Major General Hugh L. Scott, prominent authority on Indian affairs and Chief of Staff during a large part of World War I, have been presented to the library by his son, Major Lewis M. Scott. Together with the Hugh L. Scott Papers that have been on deposit for many years, and have recently been made a gift, these constitute an important addition to the Library's holdings

on military affairs from the late nineteenth century through World War I, and on the administration of Indian affairs during that period.

The Library of Congress has also received the papers of Frank L. Greene as a gift from his son, Colonel Richardson L. Greene. Greene served in the United States Congress as representative from Vermont and later as senator, from 1912 to 1930. Somewhat more than half of the material consists of correspondence covering the years from 1890 on. Perhaps the most significant part of this is an extensive file, arranged by subject, that concerns Greene's work as member of the Military Affairs committees of the House and Senate. It is supplemented by his speeches and by the record of events contained in brief diary entries for the years 1922 to 1930.

A group of personal and semiofficial papers of Fritz Wiedemann, one-time company commander in the infantry regiment in which Adolf Hitler served as corporal, and later Hitler's personal adjutant, consists mainly of correspondence with Nazi officials and sympathizers and with German organizations from 1938 to 1941, when Wiedemann was German consul-general at San Francisco and directed German espionage in the Western Hemisphere. There is also a revealing series of scrapbooks containing clippings and press notices from newspapers in the United States and Canada, identified and annotated by Wiedemann.

An addition to the Hoxie Family Papers, presented by Mrs. Ruth Norcross Hoxie, includes a large number of letters addressed to or written on behalf of Vinnie Ream Hoxie, American sculptress, from about 1870 to 1914. In her professional and in her social life, Vinnie Ream made a host of friends, many of them distinguished writers, statesmen, military figures, artists. The papers just received include letters, sometimes long series of letters, from many of them. There are, for example, 250 letters from Albert Pike, 80 letters from General William Tecumseh Sherman, and a separate file of letters received from members of Congress.

The largest group of material of literary interest to become available to qualified readers in the Manuscripts Division in recent months is composed of the papers of Lewis Chase, professor of literature for over forty years, which were presented to the Library by Mrs. Chase, herself a well-known writer and lecturer. The papers contain Chase family correspondence and diary materials dating from about 1895, a large body of Chase's correspondence with British and American writers and artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and material concerned with his professional work at various universities in America and in France, India, and China.

The National Archives issued in March a brochure of sixty-seven pages entitled *List of File Microcopies of the National Archives, 1950*. Students and libraries will be able to obtain positives at a reasonable price of a very considerable body of departmental and bureau records, reports of officials in foreign posts, ships' logs, naval officers reports, census records, some captured German documents, etc.

It may well be consulted by those who cannot spare time or money to work in Washington.

The personal papers of William Sollmann (lately of Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pennsylvania), formerly a leading writer and statesman of Germany, who died in January, 1951, have been presented by his family to the Swarthmore College Peace Collection for purposes of historical research. Included is an almost complete file of Mr. Sollmann's writings, newspaper editorials, and magazine articles, from 1906 through the period of his editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung* of Cologne (1911-33) and membership in the Reichstag (1920-33) and the years of exile. Among his papers, dating from 1901, are a series of letters from Heinrich Brüning and Otto Strässer showing the activities of the Social Democratic party outside Germany after 1933 and of other exiled German leaders. Also preserved are scattered papers regarding the Versailles peace negotiations, to which Mr. Sollmann was an official delegate.

The following regulations concerning nonofficial research in the unpublished records of the Department of State were released by the department in January, 1951:

*General Policy:* The Department shall make its records available to persons not officials of the United States Government, and to officials when engaged in private research, as liberally as possible without violating the principles or procedures consonant with the security of the nation, the protection of the public interest and the efficient operations of the Department.

*Administrative Organization of Records:* (a) The "open period" is the period prior to January 1, 1926. On January 1, 1952, and each year thereafter until January 1, 1955, the terminal date of this period will be automatically advanced one year. Records of this period, with the exceptions noted below, are open for use by the general public at the National Archives, subject to its regulations. (b) The "limited-access period" is the ten-year period immediately following the open period. Use of the records of this period will be confined to qualified researchers and other persons demonstrating a legitimate need for the information requested. (c) The "closed period" is the period subsequent to the "limited-access period." The records of this period are not normally available to non-governmental researchers. Exceptions to the rule will be limited in general to mature scholars undertaking research regarded by the Department as desirable in the national interest.

*Application for Access to Records:* (a) Application for access to records of the open period shall be made to the National Archives. (b) Application for access to other records of the Department shall be made in writing to the Chief, Division of Historical Policy Research. The application shall contain a description of the nature and scope of the proposed study and of the categories of records required. The applicant shall also furnish data concerning his citizenship, academic background and research experience. All applications shall be accompanied by appropriate references and letters of recommendation, including, in the case of alien



researchers, a letter of recommendation from the chief of the mission in Washington representing the country to which he owes allegiance. The Department reserves the right to refuse alien researchers access to its records.

*Departmental Action on Applications:* (a) The Chief, Division of Historical Policy Research, without reference to other officials, may make available to eligible researchers records originating in the limited-access and closed periods that have been previously published or released, and unpublished material of the same periods involving no question of policy or security. (b) In connection with requests for other records of the limited-access period, the Chief, Division of Historical Policy Research, in conjunction with the appropriate policy officer, will consider the nature and precise limits of the proposed research and of the records involved, and shall determine the nature and extent of the access to be granted and any special conditions to be placed on the information taken from the records consulted. (c) In connection with requests for access to records of the closed period, the Chief, Division of Historical Policy Research, acting on the advice and recommendations of the Committee on Use of Departmental Records, shall determine the action to be taken, the nature and extent of access to be granted and any special restrictions to be placed on use of information. (d) The Chief, Division of Historical Policy Research, shall arrange for the applicant to consult the files made available to him in accordance with the provisions of this section and the limitations outlined below.

*Limitations on Use of Records:* (a) Records relating to the citizenship of individuals and to unsettled claims, Foreign Service inspection reports, personnel records, and a few other categories are not generally available for non-official research. (b) The use of classified information is subject to Departmental security regulations (Section 193.3). (c) Documents made available for research study will be used only at places designated by the Department for their examination. (d) Authorization to use particular files will not extend to other files referred to in the documents being studied, except as arranged by the Division of Historical Policy Research. (e) Records in current use in the Department will not be available to inquirers. (f) Classified documents originating with the U. S. Government agencies other than the Department of State may not be used by a private researcher, unless the Division of Historical Policy Research has secured special approval of the originating agency. (g) Papers, excepting captured enemy or ex-enemy documentation, received by the Department from a foreign government, not having been released for publication by that government, will not be made available to inquirers without the consent of the government concerned. (h) Certain types of documents will be withheld if their publication would be contrary to public interest, such as: (1) Materials which would tend to embarrass the U. S. Government in its conduct of foreign relations; (2) Materials embodying opinions or comments that might give needless offense to other nationalities or to individuals at home or abroad; and (3) Materials which would violate the confidence reposed in the Department or the Foreign Service. (i) Telegrams marked "paraphrase before communicating," if they date back less than 10 years, may not be copied or quoted without being paraphrased in accordance with security regulations (Section 194). (j) Administrative considerations make it necessary for the researcher (1) to confine his requests as far as possible to particular papers and to materials on specific topics; and (2) to make his notes full enough to be understandable to a reviewer, and present them in legible form (either carefully

written or typed) on uniform-size paper. Each note must indicate clearly the document from which the information was obtained, including the Departmental file number. (k) As a general rule, information taken by the researcher will be in the form of notes, quotations, and excerpts, but must not be copies of entire documents. In case of any necessary deviation from this general rule, the Chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research will require the return to the Department of all copies (typed, microfilmed, photostated) of Departmental documents made by the researcher.

*Clearance of Materials:* (a) Clearance may take one or more of the following forms: (1) Clearance of the records themselves when only a few papers are involved; (2) Clearance of notes made by the researcher on the records consulted; or (3) Clearance of those portions of the text of the study which are based on the Department's records. (b) The person to whom documents have been made available will submit to the Chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research, for purpose of review, all such records, notes, or manuscripts as may have been agreed upon in advance. The Chief of that Division may in turn submit them to the appropriate policy office or offices before approval is given for their use. (c) After the clearance of the documents, notes, or manuscripts by the Division of Historical Policy Research or by the appropriate policy officers, the Chief of the Division of Historical Policy Research will transmit the cleared materials to the researcher, retaining such items as it may be deemed necessary to withhold. Materials may be cleared (1) to be used for background only (not to be cited or quoted), or (2) to be cited and/or quoted without restrictions.

*Deposit of Research Studies:* Researchers making use of Department of State records will be encouraged to deposit copies of their completed manuscripts or published works.

In forthcoming issues the *Review* hopes to publish comparable statements by the Department of Defense and the National Archives concerning the accessibility of their records for unofficial research.

The department of history of Harvard University is sponsoring a new edition of Channing, Hart, and Turner's *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*. The task of revision is being jointly undertaken by Paul H. Buck, Oscar Handlin, Frederick Merk, Samuel Eliot Morison, Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., and will be completed in 1952.

After a lapse of more than thirty years, the "John P. Branch Historical Papers," originally published by the Randolph-Macon Historical Society, has resumed publication. The series was started in 1901 by William E. Dodd, then a professor in the college, and continued when he went to the University of Chicago by his successor, Charles H. Ambler, from 1901 until 1917. The new series, published by the department of history and government of Randolph-Macon College and under the editorship of Professor William A. Mabry, opens with an interesting study by Marvin Davis Evans entitled *The Richmond Press on the Eve of the Civil War* (Ashland, Va., 1951, pp. 54, \$1.00).

The *Proceedings of the First Congress of Historians from Mexico and the United States Assembled in Monterrey Nuevo Leon, Mexico, September 4-9, 1949* has been published in Mexico City by Editorial Cultura (1950, 420 pp.). This attractively printed and substantial volume includes all papers in the language in which they were originally delivered, and summaries in Spanish or English. Summaries are also given in both languages of discussions at the sessions which were devoted to "The Teaching of History," "The Preservation and Organization of Historical Source Materials," "Economic Relations of Mexico and the United States," "Literary History," "Comparative Historical Development of Land Systems in Mexico and the United States," and "Intellectual History." The texts of the special addresses, such as those given at the presentation of the portraits of Francis Parkman and Frederick Jackson Turner, are also given as well as complete information on the program. The volume has been carefully edited by Enriqueta López Lira de Díaz-Thomé under the direction of Silvio Zavala, and contains a useful list of participants, with their permanent addresses, and an analytical index. The solid achievements of this first meeting have led to a discussion of a second session in the United States, perhaps in 1952, under the auspices of the American Historical Association, the Academia de Ciencias Históricas de Monterrey, the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the United States institution to be selected as the host for the next meeting.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its annual meeting in Cincinnati, April 19-21. An interesting and varied program was presented in conferences devoted to the historical problems of the inland empire to whose history the association was dedicated by its founders. Two sessions were devoted to the teaching of history and one to methodology. At the annual business meeting Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin was elected president for the coming year and Professor James Sellers of the University of Nebraska vice-president. Mrs. Clara S. Paine continues as secretary-treasurer. It was decided to circularize the membership to get a ballot vote on a number of new names for the association, all of which will be listed on the ballot.

The interdisciplinary sponsoring committee of the new American Studies Association held its first meeting on March 22 in the Library of Congress. Historians who attended the all-day meeting were David C. Mearns of the Library of Congress, Professors Charles Barker and Montgomery Gambrill of the Johns Hopkins University, Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin, and Wesley Gewehr and H. S. Merrill of the University of Maryland. The constitution adopted by the committee states that the most important ways in which the association hopes to achieve its general aim are by "the improvement of communication across those disciplines which deal with phases of American civilization" and by "the fostering of interdisciplinary research and of courses and programs in American civilization." Professor Carl Bode of the department of English and

the American Civilization program of the University of Maryland, who is chairman of the steering committee which will operate during the coming year until the society is fully established, will be interested in hearing from anyone who wishes to be put on the association's mailing list and who might want to help in the establishing of the society.

As a part of its centennial program, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, is establishing in its history department a memorial scholarship for the late Professor Carl L. Becker, distinguished student of the college. Former students and friends of Professor Becker and others interested in the project are asked to communicate with Professor Eric C. Kollman, Department of History, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

The 1951 Pulitzer Prize in history went to R. Carlyle Buley of Indiana University for *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840*. The biography prize was won by Margaret L. Coit for her volume *John C. Calhoun: American Portrait*.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1951-52 have been awarded for research in history and related subjects: Arthur Cecil Bining, University of Pennsylvania, history of the iron and steel industries of the United States and Great Britain; Robert Sabatino Lopez, Yale University, history of the southern European manufacturers of coins; Harry R. Rudin, Yale University, trends of political and economic developments in British Africa since 1945; John King Fairbank, Harvard University, studies of Japanese historiography on China; Jerome Blum, Princeton University, history of serfdom in central and eastern Europe; Leften Stavros Stavrianos, Northwestern University, history of the Balkan Peninsula; Woodrow Borah, University of California, Berkeley, a socio-economic study of the Mixteca Alta area of Mexico during the colonial period; Robert Francis Byrnes, Rutgers University, anti-Semitism in France during the Dreyfus Affair; A. William Salomone, New York University, Italian social and economic history; Samuel Edmund Thorne, Yale University, history of English law in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; Michael Kraus, City College of New York, cultural cross currents between Europe and America; Mildred Lucile Campbell, Vassar College, English emigration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; Golo Mann, Scripps College, a study of the limits between scientific investigation and speculative interpretation of history; William Quentin Maxwell, Baltimore, Maryland, history of the United States Sanitary Commission in the Civil War; Kenneth Earl Kidd, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, a study of French, English, and Dutch trade goods imported into northeastern North America during the French regime; Edouard Alexander Stackpole, Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, the discoveries and explorations of New England whaling men, based on the log books of their voyages; Joseph James Mathews, Emory University, a study of the history of newspaper foreign correspondents from the late eighteenth cen-

tury to World War I; William Pitkin Wallace, University College, Toronto, the coinage of the ancient Greek city states; Edward Anthony Robinson, Fordham University, studies of Cicero's "De Legibus"; Constantine George Yavis, St. Louis University, ancient Greek religious sacrifices; William Kendrick Pritchett, University of California, Berkeley, inscriptions from the marketplace of ancient Athens; Paul Julius Alexander, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Byzantine history of the Middle Ages; Henri Frankfort, University of Chicago and University of London, the arts of the ancient Near East; Richard Nelson Frye, Harvard University, Middle Persian historical inscriptions; Thomas Wellsted Copeland, University of Chicago, Edmund Burke's writings on the French Revolution; Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, William Cecil, Lord Burghley; Dumas Malone, Columbia University, Thomas Jefferson; Willard Mosher Wallace, Wesleyan University, Benedict Arnold; Elizabeth Stevenson, Atlanta Public Library, Henry Adams; George Woodcock, Vancouver Island, B.C., Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, nineteenth century philosopher.

The American Philosophical Society grants for the coming year include the following scholars in history: Robert F. Byrnes, Rutgers University, anti-Semitism during the Dreyfus Affair; Victor L. Johnson, Allentown, Pennsylvania, impact of the Revolutionary movement upon the Philadelphia area; Wilbur K. Jordan, Radcliffe College, development of the philanthropic impulse in England; Thomas T. McAvoy, University of Notre Dame, investigation of the nature of the controversy over "Americanism" in the Catholic Church, 1895-1900; Madeline H. Rice, Hunter College, biography of William Ellery Channing; C. Vann Woodward, Johns Hopkins University, study of Southern dissenters; Adolph Berger, New York, New York, encyclopedical dictionary of Roman law; Samuel C. McCulloch, Rutgers University, study of eastern Australia, 1835-1850; Lewis U. Hanke, Library of Congress, bibliography of works by and about Bartolomé de Las Casas, 1474-1566.

Among the faculty study fellowship awards recently announced by the American Council of Learned Societies for the coming year are the following scholars in history: Gerald M. Capers, Newcomb College of Tulane University, whose field is American history, will study during the fall semester the sociology and economics of modern war; Charles C. Gillispie, Princeton University, whose field is modern English history, plans half-time study in the history of science; Thomas H. Greer, Michigan State College, whose field is modern American social history, intends to do intensive reading next spring in the works of some leading European and American political philosophers; Charles Morley, Ohio State University, intends to study nineteenth century Polish literature during the fall term. The purpose of the faculty study fellowship program, now in its second year, is to provide opportunities for college and university teachers in the humanities to enlarge the range of their knowledge by study in fields outside their special

interests. The A.C.L.S. has recently announced a new program of awards for individuals, to be designated "A.C.L.S. Scholars," who are to be carefully chosen from teachers in the humanities temporarily displaced from college and university faculties as a result of the defense emergency. The first of these awards were made in June of this year. Further awards will continue to be made during the summer as long as there are qualified applicants, as well as funds.

Research scholars appointed by the Folger Library for the summer are: L. J. Trinterud, McCormick Theological Seminary, to study the indigenous background of English Puritanism; Willson Coates, University of Rochester, to study the Puritan background of English social history in the mid-seventeenth century; Rhodes Dunlap, University of Iowa, to write a book on the literary career of King James I and to make a critical analysis of the poetry of Sir John Suckling; Pearl Hogrefe, Iowa State College, to complete a book on Sir Thomas More and his literary circle; John H. Long, Morehead State Teachers' College, to study Elizabethan music; Lucyle Hook, Barnard College, to complete biographies of two Restoration actresses, Mrs. Bracegirdle and Elizabeth Barry; W. Lee Wiley, University of North Carolina, to study social relations between France and England in the Renaissance; Stoddard Lincoln, graduate student in Columbia University, to study the seventeenth century use of music in the theater.

Alexander DeConde, assistant professor of history at Whittier College, has been awarded a grant-in-aid by the Social Science Research Council. He will investigate Franco-American diplomacy and politics at the close of the eighteenth century, visiting leading repositories in the eastern part of the United States during the summer of 1951.

Richard M. Dorson and John A. Garraty of Michigan State College have received grants from the Committee on the Study of Midwestern Life and History from Rockefeller funds given to the college. Professor Dorson is making a study of northern Negro folklore in Cass County, Michigan, and Professor Garraty is preparing a study entitled "The Life of George Myers, Politician."

Harry J. Carman, dean emeritus of Columbia College, was awarded the fifth Alexander Hamilton Medal on February 15.

Guido Kisch, research professor of history in the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, has received the Isador Hershfield Award of the Jewish Book Council of America for his book *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status*.

Theodore A. Andersen, assistant professor in the School of Business Administration at the University of Cincinnati, won the 1950 David Clark Everest Award

of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for his manuscript "History of Banking in Wisconsin." It will be published in book form by the society in the near future. Manuscripts on Wisconsin economic history to be entered in the 1951 contest for the \$1,000 award must be submitted to the society in triplicate by October 1, 1951.

C. Vann Woodward of the Johns Hopkins University delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History at the Louisiana State University April 25-27. His subject was "Southern Dissenters in Exile." The 1951-52 series will be given by Carl Bridenbaugh of the University of California, Berkeley.

## Personal

### APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton announces the appointment as professors in the School of Historical Studies of E. L. Woodward and Ernst H. Kantorowicz. Professor Woodward, now fellow of Worcester College and professor of modern history at the University of Oxford, was formerly professor of international relations at the same university. Professor Kantorowicz has been professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania is a visiting lecturer in the University of Heidelberg in the 1951 summer session under the cultural exchange program of the Department of State.

Lyman H. Butterfield has been appointed director of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. His tenure of office begins July 1. For the past five years Mr. Butterfield has been associate editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* at Princeton.

Kenneth Scott Latourette, Willis James professor of missions and Oriental history in Yale University, has been appointed president of the Japan International Christian University Foundation.

Glyndon G. Van Deusen, professor of American history in the University of Rochester, has been appointed to a visiting lectureship for the academic year in the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, under the Fulbright Act.

Boyd C. Shafer has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Arkansas.

David Lindsey has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science at Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.



Edmund S. Morgan, associate professor of history in Brown University, has been appointed associate dean of the Graduate School in anticipation of the possible return of Barnaby C. Keeney, dean, to military service later in the year.

Philip E. Mosely, professor of international relations in Columbia University, has been named director of the university's Russian Institute. He succeeds Geroid T. Robinson, Seth Low professor of history, who has asked to be relieved of administrative duties so that he may devote more time to teaching and research. Dr. Robinson will continue to serve the institute as a member of its administrative board.

Teaching in the summer session of Cornell University are Charles Mullett of the University of Missouri, Selig Adler of the University of Buffalo, and John Alden Nichols of Skidmore College. During the academic year 1951-52 Fritz Stern of Columbia University will take the place of Edward W. Fox, who will be on leave of absence at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Mahlon H. Hellerich has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science in Elizabethtown College, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania.

Reginald C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati is serving as visiting professor of history in the summer session of Harvard University.

Pearl Kibre has been promoted to associate professor of history in Hunter College. Dr. Kibre has been on sabbatical leave doing research in England, France, and Italy.

Hans W. Gatzke has been promoted to associate professor of history at the Johns Hopkins University.

Millard K. Bushong of the University of Richmond and Charles H. Moffat of Marshall College are teaching at West Virginia University during the summer session. William D. Barns of West Virginia University is on the staff of Marshall College for the summer session.

Harvey Wish of Western Reserve University is visiting professor of history at the University of Michigan during the summer session.

Reynold M. Wik, awarded the Albert J. Beveridge Fellowship at the 1950 meeting of the Association, has been appointed May Treat Morrison professor of American history in Mills College.

Lt. Col. William D. McCain, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, reported to Camp Stewart, Georgia, on May 8, 1951, as

commanding officer of the 115th AAA Gun Battalion. He will be on military leave for an indefinite period. Miss Charlotte Capers will act as director of the department in his absence, as she did during World War II.

Wilbur S. Shepperson has been appointed instructor in history and political science in the University of Nevada for the academic year 1951-52.

Visiting professors at the summer session of the University of New Mexico are Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina, Harold S. Snellgrove of Mississippi State College, and Madaline Nichols. Benjamin Sacks of the University of New Mexico is visiting professor at the State Teachers College at Albany, New York.

The summer session faculty of the University of Pennsylvania includes Roland D. Hussey of the University of California, Los Angeles, Daniel H. Thomas of the University of Rhode Island, Russell E. Francis of Rutgers University, South Jersey College, and Robert Fortenbaugh of Gettysburg College.

T. Cuyler Young, associate professor of Persian language and history in Princeton University, was granted a leave of absence during the spring semester at the request of the Department of State for diplomatic service in Iran.

At Purdue University M. L. Flaningam has been promoted to associate professor of European history and Robert J. Graf to assistant professor of American history.

Colin Rhys Lovell, assistant professor of history in the University of Southern California, was recalled to active duty with the Army in February, 1951.

Glenn E. Thompson, college archivist and instructor in history at Utica College of Syracuse University, has been granted a leave of absence to become curator of historical collections at the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute and the Oneida County Historical Society in Utica, New York.

Carl Coke Rister, for twenty-three years professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, has accepted a position as distinguished professor of history at Texas Technological College at Lubbock. His new duties began June 1.

Lt. Col. George V. Fagan, formerly of the history department of Temple University, has been assigned by Headquarters, U.S.A.F., to the faculty of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis.

Philip Grant Davidson, jr., dean of the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University, has been chosen president of the University of Louisville.

Richard V. Burks, associate professor of history in Wayne University, returned to Army service on January 31.

Elizabeth F. Rogers, chairman of the department of history in Wilson College, has been granted leave of absence for research in England and the Netherlands. Emily Allyn, associate professor of history, will serve as acting chairman of the department during her absence.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Charles Wilson Hackett, professor of Latin-American history at the University of Texas, died February 26, 1951, at Austin. He was born in 1888, graduated from the University of Texas in 1909, and a year later followed Professor H. E. Bolton to California for graduate work at Stanford and the University of California. He received his doctorate at the latter institution in 1917. In 1918, he joined the faculty of the University of Texas as adjunct professor, and became professor of Latin-American history in 1926, and distinguished professor in 1944. He was also director of the Institute of Latin-American Studies, one of the early world-area programs. Under his editorship, the institute published a number of valuable monographs.

Dr. Hackett was visiting professor at Harvard, 1925-26, and at Stanford, 1929-30, and *profesor extraordinario* at the National University of Mexico during the summers of 1943 to 1946. He was leader of the Latin-American round table at Williamsburg in 1928 and at the University of Virginia in 1935. He was delegate of the United States to the Pan-American Congress at Panama in 1926, and Lima, Peru, in 1941.

Dr. Hackett has a long list of articles in various magazines. For several years he was associate editor of *Current History* and has been on the editorial boards of several historical reviews. His most extensive works are his editions and translations of the *Bandelier Documents* relating to New Mexico (three volumes), *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (four volumes, with Charmion Shelby), and two volumes (with Miss Shelby) of documents on the *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico*.

Always genial and popular with students and colleagues, Dr. Hackett will be greatly missed by all who knew him.

The untimely death of Harold B. Newman on March 19, 1951, removed from the department of history of Brooklyn College an esteemed colleague of many years standing, and from the world of scholarship a profound student of the Puritan Revolution in England. His doctoral dissertation was entitled "The Sequestration of Royalists' Estates during the Civil War (1642-1650)." Born in Brooklyn, September 24, 1909, Dr. Newman graduated in 1929 from Amherst College, *summa cum laude*, Phi Beta Kappa, and Simpson Fellow. He received bachelor of arts and master of arts degrees from Oxford, and in 1949 the doc-

torate from Harvard University, where he had held the Thayer Scholarship for two years.

Reginald George Trotter, Douglas professor of Canadian and colonial history and head of the department of history at Queen's University, died April 7, 1951, after a long and painful illness. He was born July 14, 1888. His father was the president of Acadia University, Nova Scotia. Professor Trotter was educated at Acadia, McMaster, Yale, and Harvard. From Yale he obtained his B.A. in 1911 and from Harvard his doctorate in 1921. He taught for several years in the Thatcher School at Ojai, California, then, after incidental appointments, was assistant professor at Stanford from 1919 to 1924. In 1924, he came to Queen's and in 1934, became head of the department. He is survived by his wife and two sons.

Trotter's main literary work was in the field of Canadian and British Commonwealth history. His *Canadian Federation: Its Origin and Achievement* (1924) has become a standard work of reference. Later he added to it numerous articles, a bibliographical work (*Canadian History: A Syllabus and Guide to Reading*) and, just at the close of his life, a volume in the "Canada in World Affairs" series for the years 1941-44. He also wrote *The British-Empire Commonwealth* (1932) and edited *Charters of Our Freedom* (1946). He was a frequent contributor to historical and literary journals.

In many ways in addition to writing, Professor Trotter was one of the main architects of Canadian historical and political studies and affairs. Thus he was the co-organizer of the four important conferences on Canadian-American affairs, held from 1935 to 1941, which are said to have influenced the Roosevelt-King policies of North American co-operation. He was one of the organizers and the first chairman of the Canadian Social Science Research Council. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and a recipient of its Tyrell medal for distinction in Canadian historical studies. In 1938 he was president of the Canadian Historical Society.

"Rex" Trotter was a man beloved of all his colleagues and students. His was a nature so clean and simple that it immediately attached those who met him. He was one of those rare spirits in whom character and intellect are harmoniously fused, magnanimous, a true gentleman.

George Grafton Wilson, professor emeritus of international law, Harvard University, died April 30, at the age of eighty-eight years. Dr. Wilson had served as associate professor of international law (1891-94) and professor (1894-1910), Brown University; and professor (1910-36), Harvard University.

Thomas Tileston Waterman, architect and author of *The Mansions of Virginia* and *The Dwellings of Colonial America*, died on January 20 at the age of fifty. Mr. Waterman was an occasional contributor to this *Review*.

Benedict Humphrey Sumner, warden of All Souls College, Oxford, since 1945, died on April 25 in his fifty-eighth year. His principal academic service was at Oxford, where he was fellow of All Souls from 1919 to 1925 and fellow and tutor in modern history at Balliol from 1925 to 1944. In 1930 he came to this country to lecture at Harvard University and in 1948 he was a visiting member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He attended the Versailles Peace Conference as a member of the British delegation and from 1920 to 1922 served on the staff of the International Labour Office at Geneva. Among his publications are *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880* (1937), *Survey of Russian History* (1944), and numerous articles in historical periodicals.

On February 16, 1951, Heinrich von Srbik died in his home at Ehrwald in Tyrol at the age of seventy-two years. Srbik received his methodological training at the Austrian Institut für Geschichtsforschung in Vienna and began his historical studies in the economic field, from which he turned to political history. His *Wallensteins Ende* (1920), a masterly piece of historical methodology, resulted in a call to the University of Vienna (1922), where he held the chair of modern history until 1945 and, as teacher and lecturer, had unusual influence. Great literary success came with the publication of *Metternich* (1925; 2 vols.), a standard work in spite of all the criticism it provoked. Typical Srbik problems came to the surface clearly in these volumes: tension between nationalism and supernationalism and tension between Austrian and German ideas. Equally prominent proved the author's gift of making a work of biography grow into general history in the best Ranke spirit. Srbik used to base his publications, which include a large number of essays and articles (some of them were published in book form *Aus Österreichs Vergangenheit* [Salzburg, 1949]), on the study of primary sources, such as the Vienna Staats-Archiv, and he himself edited source publications, such as the five volumes of *Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs, 1859-1866*. Beginning with *Metternich* an increasing interest in intellectual history can be traced in Srbik's writings; he admitted the influence of Meinecke, to whom he dedicated his last volume. This combination of intellectual and political aspects, of national and universal problems imparted the special character to the four volumes on *Deutsche Einheit* (the first and second published in 1935, the last ones in 1942). These volumes also mark the climax of the author's own conflict between his loyalties to Austria and to Germany, both of which were at the core of his personal and historical outlook. At a crucial time he was prey to illusions; he fell into errors—and he himself admitted such mistakes frankly—yet he was entitled to stress that his intentions always were pure. His whole work bears the imprint of his noble personality. It was not the least Austrian trait in his intellectual physiognomy that he longed for harmony and suffered from discord. His fate was to witness the disruption of the three entities in which he was rooted: first the Austrian Empire, then Germany and old Europe.

He suffered heavily, but out of this suffering came growth; his last essays and his last volume, given to German historiography (*Geist und Geschichte vom deutschen Humanismus bis zur Gegenwart*, Salzburg, 1950), formed a climax. In the *Geist und Geschichte*, Srbik's gift of balancing his interest and understanding for the single historical individuality with the presentation of the great supra-individual trends brought results recalling accomplishments of Ranke, for whom he always felt genuine admiration. It was granted to Srbik to finish the manuscript of the second volume of this work and it is understood that a third volume of *Metternich* is also ready for publication.

Ludvig V. A. Stavenow, professor emeritus at Uppsala University, died October 28, 1950, at the age of eighty-six. His most substantial studies had concerned the eighteenth century—the Age of Freedom and the Gustavian period. He also gave considerable attention to questions of historiography. Most representative, perhaps, of his work was *Det adertonde århundradets parlamentarism i Sverige*, appearing in 1923. Though primarily a scholar, Stavenow served also in administrative posts of distinction—as rector of Göteborg High School, 1909–14, as rector of Uppsala University, 1918–29, and as chairman of the executive body of the Swedish Historical Association, 1929–37.

Recent Ukrainian press reports mention the death of the prominent Ukrainian historian, Dmytro Doroshenko, in Munich, Germany, March 19, 1951, at the age of sixty-nine. Professor Doroshenko was a teacher, writer, and statesman. He taught in several schools in his native country, and, after fleeing from Red-occupied Ukraine, taught in the Ukrainian Free University in Prague as well as in Charles University in the same city, and also in the Orthodox Theological School of Warsaw University. His writings include several volumes of recent history of the Ukraine and many articles. One of his books, *History of the Ukraine*, is available in English translation.

## Communications

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Obviously a reviewer is entitled to dislike a book and to express his dislike. However, if he thereby raises the question of the social responsibility of the historical scholar, the publication of such a review as that of Mr. Edgar N. Johnson (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, October, 1950, pp. 88 ff.) in times like these also raises the question of the scholarly and professional responsibility of the reviewer. His remarks on my book, *The Jews in Medieval Germany: A Study of Their Legal and Social Status* (Chicago, 1949), need no serious refutation as far as the substance of the book is concerned. The following comments, therefore, will be confined to a few points of general interest to historians.

The historical public has not been well served by this review. Its writer has disregarded the elementary purpose of a review, which is, among other things, to

tell the reader what the book is about before telling him what is wrong with it. No reader can acquire from this review a fair conception of the purpose or possible usefulness of the volume. Instead, he is told how the reviewer would have conceived a book on medieval German Jewry in order "to improve the quality and extent of our own democracy." In the reviewer's opinion the historian must "relate his work to the needs of his time." Any other historical approach is condemned by him as that "kind of research, narrow in its appeal and disdaining to be immediately helpful, that made German academic circles so ineffective before 1933." This is, without doubt, precisely the quest for a *gegenwartsnahe Fragestellung* in historical research, or a formulation of research problems in present-day ideology, that was so effectively propagated by German pseudo-scholars from 1933 on (see pp. 23, 376 f., of my book).

The reviewer finds the discussion of "sources and literature" (among them medieval manuscripts never used before and lost in the last war) "interminable, unnecessarily expanded, expensive and actually dull." He has no use for legal history altogether, either for himself or for young American scholars, and puts forth a recommendation "to abandon the field to others." In contrast to him, fortunately, a great number of American historians have long come to recognize and appreciate the importance and value of such studies as Professor Johnson deprecates. I have dealt extensively with these scholars and their contributions to legal history in two articles (*The Jurist*, II [July, 1942], 214-47; *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in the United States and Canada*, Bulletin No. 17 [1942], pp. 27-34). Only lately Professor Frederick H. Cramer of Mount Holyoke College has well appraised more recent American efforts in the history of Roman, Canon, and Continental law (*Speculum*, XXV [April, 1950], 274-77). The subject was also extensively and thoroughly discussed by Professor Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University from whose comments the following is quoted: ". . . legal history, difficult and full of dangers as it is, has seemed foreign and remote from our interests. This is unfortunate and in part must be attributed to a general lack of interest of our schools of law in historical studies. Then, too, quite contrary to long established practice in European universities, American historians with primary interests in the European past rarely, if ever, pursue legal studies as a part of their general training. This divorce of law from history and of history from law in America is to be regretted. It is in the nature of things impossible to conceive of law without history and history without law loses much richness, often much of its meaning." (*Historia Judaica*, XII [October, 1950], 159-70.)

By a fortunate coincidence the same learned medievalist of Northwestern University touched on the problem of footnotes in scholarly works also treated by the reviewer. Professor Boyce writes: "In learned journals and even in scientific circles that should know better one hears the shrill cry against the footnote. Publishers over-anxious to sell their wares and editors perplexed by constantly rising costs of production cry for the page of text pure. Fortunately, however, in Dr. Kisch's *The Jews in Medieval Germany* there has been no compromise with scientific requirements and elaborate documentation is given. For 364 pages of text there are almost 200 pages of notes. In the opinion of the writer these notes contain material that is not only essential for such a work, but include matter which is frequently as informing and exciting as the narrative itself. A remarkably rich and well-ordered bibliography of forty pages and indexes . . . complete the book."

In contrast to this Professor Johnson thinks that "this elaborate and subjective display of learning [in the footnotes] will be useful only to a very few specialists



in this country." Again, no doubt he is entitled to this opinion. It borders, however, on misrepresentation when he implies that the book was unnecessarily inflated by adding footnotes and bibliography and by the manner in which my own previous publications were used. The judicious reader will find the pertinent information in my Preface. Here I wish to offer only one illustration. In my book not even one page is given to the so-called "Jewish execution" (p. 186), whereas previously I had devoted a monograph of thirty pages to this institution. A similar relationship prevails in many other instances.

Finally, the reviewer makes the author responsible for what seems to him an excessive price for the book, as though he did not know that such a matter is entirely outside the province of the author and solely for the publisher to decide. The University of Chicago Press can surely be trusted to handle the problem in a manner not detrimental to scholars.

Professor Johnson carefully avoided discussing any of the "historical items explaining political, social, economic, feudal, sociological, legal, religious and intellectual developments in central Europe" which other reviewers found stimulating and worthy of comment (Boyce, *loc. cit.*, p. 161; cf. *The Times Literary Supplement* [London], Nov. 17, 1950, p. 733; *Seminar*, VIII [1950], 83-91; *Christian Century*, June 28, 1950). Unlike these reviewers, Professor Johnson undertook to count the pages of text, footnotes, indexes, and even individual citations in order to prove how harmful the "luxurious and indulgent publication of writing of this kind" will be to historical study.

It is the lack of elementary fairness and responsibility in the reviewing of scholarly books that is threatening to carry historical research down the dismal road to pseudo-scholarship.

*Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion*

GUIDO KISCH

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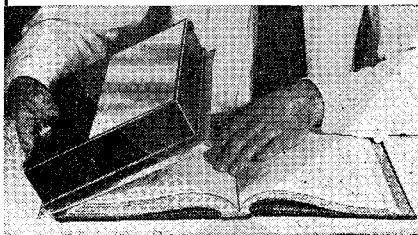
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